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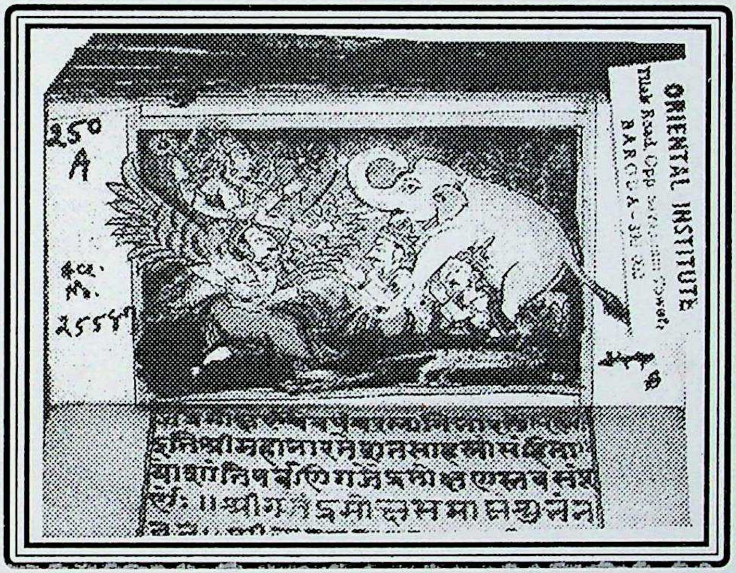
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THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

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THE DEVIATIONS OF VEDIC NAME NĀBHĀNEDIṢṬHA IN PURANIC TEXT

MANSUKH MOLIYA*

Nābhānediṣṭha, the son of Manu is the seer of two hymns of *Ṛgveda* (10.61-62). The tale of these hymns is narrated in *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* 3.1.9.4-6 and *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* 22.9. According to the tale, the brothers of Nābhānediṣṭha gave him the father Manu instead of the share in the paternal property. Nābhānediṣṭha followed his father's order and enchanted these two hymns in the sacrifice of Aṅgiras and completed their sacrifice, removing all obstacles. Afterwards God Rudra was satisfied with his truthfulness and honesty. Therefore, he gave him the remaining wealth of that sacrifice. The references about Mānava Nābhānediṣṭha are also found in *Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa* 20.9.2, *Sāṅkhāyanabrāhmaṇa* 28.4 and 30.4 and in *Sāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra* 26.11.18-30.

The name Nābhānediṣṭha, that we found in Vedic literature is deviated variously in the Puranic literature. In beginning, the Purāṇas were told orally by *Sūta.* Afterwards they were transformed into manuscripts by various scribes and took the form of books. Thus, due to this so many faults that occurred in oraḷ and written tradition, there are a number of deviations in the text. The Purāṇas give various variants in place of Nābhānediṣṭha. In fact, in none of the Purāṇas this name has been preserved in its original form. In the list of the sons of Vaivasvata Manu, his name has been put at the seventh number. Some Purāṇas accept Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgoriṣṭa text. While in some other Purāṇas, this name has been divided into two names, i.e. Nābhāgo+Diṣṭa, Nabhago+Riṣṭa or Nābhāgo+Ariṣṭa. Because of this division, the total number of the sons of Vaivasvata Manu goes to ten instead of nine. Thus, two different traditions have come into existance regarding the sons of Manu. Moreover, the description of the geneology of Nābhānediṣṭha starts with *Diṣṭa* or *Ariṣṭa* and it creats confusion also. Now let's study the deviations regarding the word Nābhānediṣṭha in different Purāṇas :

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(1) Numerical word *Nava* has been used in the beginning and end in the namelist of Manu's sons in *Harivaṁśa*. Here Manu's seventh son is referred as Nābhāgāriṣṭa which is the transformation of Vedic name Nābhānediṣṭha.

> मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन् पुत्रा वै नव तत्समाः ।
> इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्णुः शर्यातिरेव च ।।१।।
> नरिष्यन्तश्च तथा प्रांशुर्नाभागारिष्टसप्तमाः ।
> करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवैते मानवाः स्मृताः ।।२।।
> हरिवंशः, १.१०

It has also been noted in the *Nīlakaṇṭhaṭīkā* of *Harivaṁśa* that Nābhānediṣṭha is more reliable text than that of Nābhāgariṣṭa, because it is supported by the *Veda*. Moreover, Śrīnīlakaṇṭha also notes that some read Diṣṭa text there.[1] Thus, the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha is well aware of the deviations that occurred in the Purāṇas, regarding the name Nābhānediṣṭha.

(2) The text referring to the names of the sons of Vaivasvata Manu in *Agni Purāṇa* is almost similar to that of *Harivaṁśa*. Here we read the text Nābhāgādyaṣṭa in place of Nābhānediṣṭha. In the beginning, the words न च are the curruption of the text नव.

> मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्पुत्रा वै न च तत्समाः ।
> इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।।५।।
> नरिष्यन्तश्च तथा प्रांशुर्नाभागाद्यष्ट सप्तमाः ।
> करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च अयोध्यायां महाबलाः ।।६।।
> अग्निपुराणम्, २७३

(3) The number of the sons of Manu is nine in *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and here the text is Nābhāgodiṣṭa instead of Nābhānediṣṭha.

> इक्ष्वाकुर्नाभगश्चैव धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
> नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभागोदिष्ट[2] एव च ।।११।।
> करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च वसुमाँल्लोकविश्रुतः ।
> मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ।।१२।।
> मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्, ७६

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[1] नाभागारिष्ट इत्यत्र दिष्ट इत्यपि पठन्ति । "नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवम्" इति श्रुतेः । नाभानेदिष्ठ इति पाठः प्रामाणिकः ।। नीलकण्ठटीका, पृ. ३३

[2] In the edition of Naga Publication of *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, this name is printed as Nābhāga and Diṣṭa, the two different names instead of one singal name. If we consider them as two then the number goes to ten while here numerical word is *nava* used. So I have taken and accepted Nābhagodiṣṭa as one name.

(4) In the edition of *Gītā* Press of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the word Nābhāgoriṣṭa is read as follows.

इक्ष्वाकुश्च नृगश्चैव धृष्टः शर्याति एव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभागोरिष्ट एव च ।।३३।।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च सुमहाँल्लोकविश्रुतः ।
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राः सुधार्मिकाः ।।३४।।
विष्णुपुराणम् (गीताप्रेस), ३.१

But in the edition of Jivananda Vidyasagar, there are two different names 'Nābha' and Udviṣṭa' in the place of Nābhāgoriṣṭa, found in Gītā Press edition. Moreover, this *Purāṇa* accepts *Vasumān* as the last name. Here the total number of them is clearly stated as nine. Now if we consider Nābha and Udviṣṭa seperately the number goes to ten. Thus, it has been proved that 'Nābha Udviṣṭa' is the deviation of Single name Nābhānediṣṭha found in Vedic Literature.

इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभ उद्विष्ट एव च ।।३४।।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च वसुमान् लोकविश्रुतः ।
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राश्च धार्मिकाः ।।३५।।
विष्णुपुराणम् (जी. वि.), ३.१

It is a matter of great pleasure that the Oriental Institute, Vadodara has printed the Critical edition of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Here, all the Variants of Vedic word Nābhānediṣṭha are seen in critical apparatus. They are नदीष्यन्तो दिष्ट, नाभाते दिष्ट, नोभगो दिष्ट, नाभोनं दिष्ट, नाभागोऽरिष्ट and नाभागोधिष्ट[3].

(5) *Vāyupurāṇa* gives the text as 'नाभागोऽरिष्ट'. Here the original word might be Nābhāgoriṣṭa but the sign of *Avagraha* might have been added by the scribe during the writing of its manuscript or by the editor of the printed edition. If we accept the *Avagraha*, the number of the names goes to ten, while in the beginning and the end the word 'नव' is employed in the text. So, I kindly opine that it should be read as Nābhāgoriṣṭa instead of Nābhāgo'riṣṭa.

मनोः प्रथमस्यासन्नव पुत्रास्तु तत्समाः ।।३।।
इक्ष्वाकुर्नहुषश्चैव धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तस्तथा प्रांशुर्नाभागोऽरिष्ट एव च ।।४।।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवै ते मानवाः स्मृताः ।
वायुपुराणम्, ८५

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[3] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Vol. - 1) (Critical edition), p. 266.

(6) The text that we find in *Liṅgapurāṇa* is the same as we find in *Vāyupurāṇa* chapter 85.

मनोः प्रथमस्यासन्नव पुत्रास्तु तत्समाः ।।१७।।
इक्ष्वाकुर्नभगश्चैव धृष्णुः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च वै धीमान् नाभागोऽरिष्ट एव च ।।१४।।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवैते मानवाः स्मृताः ।।२।।
लिङ्गपुराणम्, १.६५

(7) *Vāyupurāṇa* chapter 65 also states the names of the sons of Manu. Its text is very similar to that of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar, which is mentioned earlier. Here the last son, named Vasumān is said to be the ninth one. Now, if we consider Nābha and Udviṣṭa to be different names then Vasumān becomes the tenth son instead of nine. Thus it has been self proved that the original Vedic word Nābhānediṣṭa has been divided into two names, Nābha and Udviṣṭa.

इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभ उद्विष्ट एव च ।।२९।।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च वसुमान्नवमः स्मृतः।
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ।।३०।।
वायुपुराणम्, ६५

(8) The word Nābhāgodiṣṭa is found in *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, but the text of this *Purāṇa* has strange contradiction. In the commencement of the text, the number of the sons of Manu is to be stated to be ten but at the end they are said to be nine. The word *daśa* seems to be the result of error during the tradition of copying the text. The text of *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is similar to the text of *Harivaṁśa, Agnipurāṇa, Vāyupurāṇa* (chapter 85) and *Liṅgapurāṇa* mentioned above.

तस्माद्वैवस्वतात्पुत्रा जज्ञिरे दश तत्समाः ।
इक्ष्वाकुश्च नृगश्चैव धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।।२।।
नरिष्यन्तस्तथा प्रांशुर्नाभागोदिष्ट एव च ।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवैते मानवाः स्मृताः ।।३।।
ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्, २.३.६०

(9) Though *Brahmapurāṇa* accepts the tradition which supports the nine numbers of Manu's sons, it also divides the word Nābhāgoriṣṭa into two names. The name of Manu's second son is Nābhāga. So, with a view to omitting the unnecessary repetion of the word Nābhāga, it has removed the word Nābhāga, divided from the seventh name, Nābhāgoriṣṭa and the only word *Riṣṭa* has been put in the place of seventh name.

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्पुत्रा वै नव तत्समाः ।
इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव तु ॥१॥
नरिष्यन्तश्च षष्ठो वै प्रांशू रिष्टश्च सप्तमः ।
करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवैते मुनिसत्तमाः ॥२॥

ब्रह्मपुराणम्, ५

As mentioned above in No. (1) to (9), there are so many deviations in the text that have come into existance and yet the nine number of Manu's sons has also been preserved. Now onwards we shall examine various references from the Purāṇas that support the division of two names in place of Nābhāgodiṣṭha. This second tradition accepts the number of the sons of Manu as ten instead of nine.

(1) In the prose text of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, all the names are given in a single combined word. But here the numerical word '*daśa*' leaves no ground for the dispute about the number of the names. we have to consider the words Nābhāga and Diṣṭa as two seperate names and then the word '*daśa*' becomes meaningful.

मनोरिक्ष्वाकुनृगधृष्टशर्यातिनरिष्यन्तप्रांशुनाभागदिष्टकरूषपृषध्राख्या दश पुत्रा बभूवुः ॥ विष्णुपुराणम्, ४.१.७

Earlier, it has been noted that *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (3.1.33-34) gives the text which accepts nine number of the sons of Manu. but here it accepts their number to be ten in above prose text. So, I have humble belief that the later tradition, dividing Nābhāgodiṣṭa into two different names has been represented in this prose text.

(2) The number of ten has been accepted at two different places in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* eventhough the text of both the places is not similar to each other. In the following text the order of the names is as accepted by other Purāṇas generally. There Nābhāga and Diṣṭa, are believed as two different names. Moreover the name Vasumān is included as tenth name. Consequently the name of Prāṁśu has been dropped out from the list to maintain the number ten.

मनुर्विवस्वतः पुत्रः श्राद्धदेव इति श्रुतिः।
सप्तमो वर्तमानो यस्तदपत्यानि मे शृणु ॥१॥

इक्ष्वाकुर्नभगश्चैव धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तोऽथ नाभागः सप्तमो दिष्ट उच्यते ॥२॥

करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च दशमो वसुमान् स्मृतः ।
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते दश पुत्राः परन्तप ॥३॥

भागवतपुराणम्, ८.१३

But the order of the number of Manu's sons has been totally changed in the following verses in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and a new name '*kavi*' is added as the last one. Here also the name of Prāṁśu is absent and Nṛga is found instead of Nābhāga, available in above verses.

ततो मनुः श्राद्धदेवः संज्ञयामास भारत ।
श्रद्धायां जनयामास दश पुत्रान् स आत्मवान् ॥११॥

इक्ष्वाकुनृगशर्यातिदिष्टधृष्टकरूषकान् ।
नरिष्यन्तं पृषध्रं च नभगं च कविं विभुः ॥२॥

भागवतपुराणम्, ९.१

(3) The text tradition of *Matsyapurāṇa* regarding the name list of Manu's sons differs from all the Purāṇas mentioned above. Here the eldest son of Manu is Ila. The number of them reaches to ten including this Ila. In other Purāṇas, Nābhāgodiṣta or Nābhāgoriṣta takes place of Nābhānediṣṭha, while in *Matsyapurāṇa* it is reduced as only Ariṣta.

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन् दश पुत्रा महाबलाः ।
इलस्तु प्रथमस्तेषां पुत्रेष्ट्यां समजायत ॥४०॥

इक्ष्वाकुः कुशनाभश्च अरिष्टो धृष्ट एव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च करूषश्च शर्यातिश्च महाबलः ॥
पृषध्रश्चाथ नाभागः सर्वे ते दिव्यमानुषाः ॥४१॥

मत्स्यपुराणम्, ११

(4) The text found in *Padmapurāṇa* is quite different to other Purāṇas but very similar to *Matsyapurāṇa*.

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यापि दश पुत्राः महाबलाः ।।७५।।
इलस्तु प्रथमस्तेषां पुत्रेष्ट्यामसकल्पि यः।
इक्ष्वाकुः कुशनाभश्च अरिष्टो धृष्ट एव च ।।७६।।

नरिष्यन्तश्च करूषश्च शर्यातिश्च महाबलः ॥
पृषध्रश्चाथ नाभागः सर्वे ते दिव्यमानुषाः ॥७७॥

पद्मपुराणम्, सृष्टिखण्डम्, ८

The tradition of ten names is reflected in above mentioned passages of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Padmapurāṇa*. They all have accepted two different names in place of Nābhānediṣṭha.

Now, let's see the text of *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa* :

(1) *Kūrmapurāṇa* has preserved the original tradition, having nine names and yet it has divided the word Nābhāgodiṣṭa into two. It has added the word '*hi*' between the two words, Nābhāga and Ariṣṭa. So, it has removed the name Prāṁśu, but the order of the names is sustained in its original form.

मनोस्तु प्रथमस्यासन्नव पुत्रास्तु संयमाः ।
इक्ष्वाकुर्नभगश्चैव धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।।४।।
नरिष्यन्तश्च नाभागो ह्यरिष्टः कारूषकस्तथा ।
पृषध्रश्च महातेजा नवैते शक्रसंनिभाः ।।५।।
कूर्मपुराणम्, १.१९

(2) No numerical word is used in *Garuḍapurāṇa*, but the names Nābhāga and Diṣṭa are printed as they are seperate names. It is noteworthy that this *Purāṇa* gives its own text which is quite different than the traditional text of Purāṇas.

मनुरिक्ष्वाकुशर्याती नृगो धृष्ट पृषध्रकः ।।२।।
नरिष्यन्तश्च नाभागो दिष्ट शशक एव च ।
मनोरासीदिला कन्या सुद्युम्नोऽस्य सुतोऽभवत् ।।३।।
गरुडपुराणम्, १.१३८

(3) *Śivapurāṇa* gives the numerical word '*nava*' in the beginning and counts their names. Here, neither Riṣṭa or Ariṣṭa from Nābhāgoriṣṭa nor Diṣṭa from Nābhāgodiṣṭa but only Nābhāga is survived. Manu's another son's name is also Nābhāga.

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्पुत्रा वै नव तत्समाः ।
पश्चान्महोन्नता धीराः क्षात्रधर्मपरायणाः ।।१।।

इक्ष्वाकुः शिविर्नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तो नाभागो करूषश्च प्रियव्रताः ।।२।।
शिवपुराणम्, ५.३६

Thus, it is clear from the above discussion based on Puranic references that the name of Nābhānediṣṭha, the son of Manu has been deviated variously during the long oral and written tradition of the Purāṇas. It is sometimes transformed as Nābhāgariṣṭa, Nābhāgoriṣṭa, Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgadyaṣṭa. Sometimes, it has also been accepted as Diṣṭa, Riṣṭa or Ariṣṇa or sometimes only as Nābhāga. Moreover, when it is divided into two parts, the first part is Nābhāga while the second is seen as Diṣṭa, Riṣṭa or Ariṣṭa.

Due to these deviations, some complications have occurred in the description of the progeny of Nābhānediṣṭha. This description is found in *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa.* The line of Nābhānediṣṭha is known as Vaiśālaka dynasty. But in the beginning of the description of this dynasty, some serious errors had taken place in each of these Purāṇas. Some names of this dynasty are also found in *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* also. It is noteworthy that we found detailed descriptions of some earlier kings in *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.*

On the basis of the comparative study of the Puranic texts of this line it is obviously seen that the name of the son of Nābhāgodiṣṭa was Bhalandana. Therefore the original Puranic text in the beginning may be as under :

नाभानेदिष्टपुत्रस्तु विद्वानासीद् भलन्दनः ।

The text of *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is very close to this text. The word Nābhānediṣṭha has been transformed as Nābhāgoriṣṭa and Nābhāgodiṣṭa in *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* respectively. Then an *Avagraha* has been added in *Vāyupurāṇa* and it results the word Nābhāgo'riṣṭa while in *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* it becomes Nābhāgo Diṣṭa because of the division in the single name. For example,

० नाभागोऽरिष्टपुत्रस्तु विद्वानासीद् भलन्दनः । वायुपुराणम्, ८६.२
० नाभागो दिष्टपुत्रस्तु विद्वानासीद् भलन्दनः । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्, २.३.६१.३

Now, if we assume Ariṣṭa as the first king of this line and take Nābhāga as his son according to *Vāyupurāṇa* how can we take Bhalandana as the son of Nābhāga ? The same problem arises in the case of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, too. We can never interpret Bhalandana as the son of Nābhāga. But if we read Nābhāgoriṣṭa in *Vāyupurāṇa* and Nābhānediṣṭa in *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* as a single word, the beginning of the description of this line becomes meaningful. The above text of *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* itself proves that there should be a single word instead of two, seperate words.

Even *Harivaṁśa* and *Brahmapurāṇa* though they have a very short reference about the progeny of Nābhānediṣṭa, support this assumption.

० नाभागधृष्टपुत्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्यतां गताः ।। ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्, ६.२६
० नाभागारिष्टपुत्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्यतां गताः ।। हरिवंशः, १.१०.३०

In addition to the above references about the sons of Nābhānediṣṭha in *Brahmapurāṇa* and *Harivaṁśa*, these two Purāṇas give another reference that two sons of Nābhāgariṣṭa had achieved Brahmanism from Vaiśyatva. Even *Agnipurāṇa* is familiar with this fact, even if only Nābhāga text has been preserved there instead of Nābhāgariṣṭa, Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgadyaṣṭa.

- नाभागारिष्टपुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौः ।। हरिवंशः, १.११.९
- नाभागारिष्टपुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौः ।। ब्रह्मपुराणम्, ६.४२
- नाभागस्य च पुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौः ।। अग्निपुराणम्, २७३.१७

It has already been stated earlier in this article that *Agnipurāṇa* gives the word Nābhāgadyaṣṭha as a deviation of Vedic word Nābhānediṣṭha. But while describing the progeny of his, *Purāṇa* gives the text as '*Nābhāgasya ca*' in the beginning, which seems to be the currupt form of Nābhāgadyaṣṭa or Nābhānediṣṭa.

Thus, though the deviations are found at the commencement of the description of progeny of Nābhānediṣṭa in *Vāyupurāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Harivaṁśa, Brahmapurāṇa* and *Agnipurāṇa* as quoted above, they all are the variants of Nābhānediṣṭha. The Purāṇas, accepting Nābhāga and Diṣṭa as two different words have tried to revise the irrelavant text as preserved in *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* with a view to making it meaningful. These Purāṇas start this description from Diṣṭa and consider Nābhāga as the son of Diṣṭa.

- दिष्टपुत्रस्तु नाभागो वैश्यतामगमत् ब्राह्मणतां । विष्णुपुराणम्, ४.१.१९
- दिष्टपुत्रस्तु नाभागो वैश्यतामगमत्स च । गरुडपुराणम्, १.१३८.६
- दिष्टपुत्रस्तु नाभागः स्थितः प्रथमयौवने । मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्, ११०.२
- नाभागो दिष्टपुत्रोऽन्यः कर्मणा वैश्यतां गतः ।। भागवतपुराणम्, ९.२.३३

Thus the dynasty of Nābhānediṣṭha has been described from the name Diṣṭa, instead of either Nābhāgodiṣṭa or Nābhāgoriṣṭa according to the text found in *Viṣṇupurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. There have been many geneologies in 'भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन-चरित्र-कोश' an encyclopaedic work by Siddheshwar Chitrav. Here the kings of Vaishalak Dynasty are referred to Diṣṭa line. In fact, it is Nābhānediṣṭha who is the first king of this line. But Diṣṭa has been wrongly considered as the first of this line. As a result a new tradition has come into existance that believes Nābhāga as a son of Diṣṭa. Only *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* alone describes the characters of kings of this line in detail. Here we find the story of battle between Diṣṭa and Nābhāga, the father and the son. Nābhāga the buddling youth had kidnapped a Vaiśya girl. So, Diṣṭa had ordered the army troops to control him and thereafter he himself started the battle to punish his son. Thus, we can see that very interesting stories have been created around the two names which are the result of division in a single name.

The study about the deviations in the word Nābhānediṣṭha informs us about the deviations of the word Nābhānediṣṭa and how the various variants have occurred during the long tradition of text transmission. This just one name is a sufficient example for the editor of Puranic text that the text-editing of a *Purāṇa* is very hard, labourious and minute.

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HELĀRĀJA'S DESCRIPTION OF ONTOLOGICAL SEMANTICS BASED ON BHARTṚHARI'S ONTOLOGY

CHAITALI DANGARIKAR AND MALHAR KULKARNI*

1. Introduction

The present paper makes a historiographical study of the linguistic and ontological categorization in Indian philosophy of language. It analyses the way *padārtha* as categorization of the 'Being' has been treated in the prominent texts of Sanskrit grammar. It also analyses the way Helārāja had philosophized the linguistic conceptions of eight *padārthas* in his commentary on *Vākyapadīya* (VP.) of Bhartṛhari. The discussion is based on the textual study of *Vākyapadīya* and *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa* (PP.) of Helārāja.

1.1 Pre-Bhartṛharian ontology of Pāṇini *Darśana*

Mādhava in his world famous doxographical[1] work, *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, surprisingly includes *Pāṇini-darśanam*, as one of the chapters. It is stated in the tradition that the view which according to Mādhava is the finally acceptable one is stated finally as a conclusion. Whichever view is not acceptable to Mādhava is stated earlier in the order and is refuted. The *Cārvāka, Baudhha* and *Jaina Darśanas* are stated right at the beginning in the order mentioned which clearly points out the intention as well as the overall view of Mādhava towards them. According to him the *Advaita Vedānta* is the final view he upholds [4]. Hence all the *darśanas* stated previously are according to him the *pūrvapakṣas. Pāṇini-darśana* as well then is a *pūrvapakṣa*. That is to say that the views held by *Pāṇini-darśanam* are not

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[1] Doxography (Greek : δόξα-"*an opinion, a point of view*" + γράφω-"*to write, to describe*") is a term used for the works especially of classical historians, which describe the points of view of past philosophers and scientists concerning philosophy, science, etc. The term was coined by Hermann Diels. Though doxography is not an independent branch of science, its meaning could hardly be

acceptable to Mādhava. But to write the *Pāṇini-darśanam* off, Mādhava had to in the first place present the *Pāṇini-darśanam.* This is surprising. Because never before in the history of Indian Philosophy was a grammar and it's tradition elevated to such a high as a *darśana.*

The grammar of Sanskrit written by Pāṇini is a system of a set of rules written in *terse sūtra* style. Pāṇini does not even utter more than two verbal forms in his entire work comprising of approximately 4000 rules. It is then not even worthwhile to imagine that he tells us something which can be easily called as a *darśana.* The grammar of Pāṇini is considered as *sarvaśāstropakāraka* (which is helpful to all fields of knowledge). It is thus called because it helps understand the language in which these *darśanas* are written. That's all. It is an entirely utilitarian point of view. In the assemblies which are extant even today, a grammarian is estimated not in the same league of a Logician (*Naiyāyika*) or a Hermeneutician (*Mimāṃsaka*) or a *Vedāntin.* That is why it is, as we stated, extremely surprising to find Mādhava mentioning Pāṇinian grammar and its tradition as *Pāṇini-darśana.*

Of course the reasons are not difficult to guess. They are evident from the content of the entire *Pāṇini-darśana.* The discussion therein revolves around the theory of *sphoṭa* developed by Bhartṛhari and the main aim of the presentation therein is to refute this theory.

Nonetheless that brings us to the critical question namely, isn't there anything to Pāṇinian grammatical tradition than the theory of *sphoṭa* to make it a *darśana*? In particular, isn't there anything else in the thought of Bhartṛhari to make it a *darśana*? Normally, the literature available in the published form answers these questions in the negative. The system of Pāṇinian grammar and the thought of Bhartṛhari has, according to the traditional view as well as modern literature nothing more than the *sphoṭa* theory. It is this point about Pāṇinian grammar which we aim at discussing in the present paper.

We do not deny the place the *sphoṭa* theory has in the field of Pāṇinian Grammar and particularly, Bhartṛahri. We however, would like to point out some of the salient aspects of the thought of Bhartṛhari in particular and Pāṇinian tradition in general which can be studied upto a certain level without taking recourse to the *sphoṭa* theory for coherent understanding.

The main point we would like to stress is that the Pāṇinian tradition is aware of categories of world. In other words, ontological categories are a part of discussion ever since Patañjali (150 BC). In Bhartṛhari, we do find a fully developed theory relating these ontological categories to his *sphoṭa* theory.

By ontological categories, we have understood the following - A central branch of metaphysics is ontology, the investigation into what categories of things are in the world and what relations these things bear to one another.

The concept of *pravṛttinimitta* in this regard needs to be further examined. *Pravṛttinimitta* is the cause of the occurrence of word [3]. The theory is that words are used in the day to day speech in different ways to denote different aspects related to the entity because there are certain aspects in the entities which cause them to function that way. Patañjali in his famous *Mahābhāṣya* talks of four *Pravṛttinimittas-jāti, guṇa, kriyā* and *sañjñā*.

Jahnke (2005), Joshi (2006), Halbfass (1993), Aklujkar (2001) and Ramasaranasastri (1976) are the few scholars who discussed the ontological and metaphysical thoughts of the *Vyākaraṇa-darśana*. But, none of them showed the development of the ontology of grammarians and its relationship with the classification of words. It was Helārāja who discussed this relation in detail in his commentary on the first verse of the third *kāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya*. Following sections attempt to provide a list of ontological categories that are accepted by Sanskrit grammarians and the relation between ontology and semantics.

2. *Padārtha*

The term *padārtha* is used for the ontological categories in Indian philosophical schools. In grammar it is used for word-meaning. Ontological categories discussed in the philosophical schools are often connected to word-meanings. As philosophers see them as the referents of the words, they explain the relation between the word-meanings and the external world. On the contrary, grammarians are not concerned about the external world and confine themselves to the possible realm of being *upacārasattā*. The most important problem related to the term *padārtha* is its domain, whether it is the categories of the external world or categories of the mind.

The *padārtha* has two parts *pada* and *artha*. The term *pada* is usually translated as 'word' in English. The term *padārtha* is used for the meaning of *padas*. The term *artha* is an ambiguious term and it is used in different senses. It is used in connection with the 'thing' or 'object'. Therefore, the term *padārtha* is often translated as thing-meant based on the etymology 'thing of the '*pada*' or 'thing referred by a *pada*' (Herzberger, 1986; Houben, 1995). For realist schools, *pada* is a basic linguistic unit, and *artha* is an object of the external world as a referent of it. But in Bhartṛhari's philosophy, *padas* are abstracted from the sentence. In VP. 2.16, Bhartṛhari stated that word has no relation with the objects of the external world. *Padas* abstracted from sentence denote *apoddhāra-padārthas.*

Helārāja explained *apoddhāra* (abstraction) as a method of categorization. Categorization of *padas* and categorization of *padārthas* is the most important job of linguists and philosophers of language. The western tradition is influenced by eminent philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. The current approaches in the ontologies prepared for linguistic processing are based on the Aristotelian method of synthesis. In Sanskrit, Pāṇini had developed a system of linguistic rules to explain the rules that govern the use of linguistic categories in the sentence. But linguistic categories are related to the ontological categories also. Though, Pāṇini had used *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* (hereafter NV.) ontological categories (*padārthas*) in his rules of grammar, he did not develop ontology for his science of language. Pāṇini's rules provided a great source for later philosophers of grammar. These philosophers have developed a critical approach to the categories propounded in other philosophical schools.

In the next section, we present a brief review of the linguistic categorization (parts of speech) and philosophical foundations of grammar by showing their link with ontological categories. Grammarians believed that there is only one 'ultimate being' that is – *śabdatattva*. Therefore, they are known as *ekapadārthavādins*. But, the tradition of grammar later on developed a philosophy based on the *vivarta* principle. This principle permits them to view this ultimate being in eight different categories as the referents of *padas*. It also presents a brief review of the categorization of linguistic units and the *padārthas* related to them.

2.1 Categorization of *padas* and *padārthas* related to them

Like all other sciences linguistic science in India was influenced by the Indian philosophical theory of Being. Therefore we find that linguistic philosophers, and grammarians both talk about the ultimate being, existence and reality. But they were aware of the fact that language cannot reflect the ontology in the sense what there is in the external environment. The realm of the ontology which language reflects is different from the other philosophical theories. Still as we perform our actions on the objects of the external world, some philosophers and linguists think that language refers to external objects. Bhartṛhari took a different stand and said that the relation between the words and referents of the words is *adhyāropa.* By doing so, he carefully avoided direct relation of language with the external world. Language functions in the realm of cognition and thus it can be related only to the mental things or the things in the flux. Indian philosophers of language maintained that language functions in the realm of possible being (*aupacārika-sattā*).

Linguistic categories such as noun, verb are related to the ontological categories. But this ontology is ontology of possible being or categories which answer the greatest philosophical query what there is. Therefore, Bhartṛhari developed the theory of Being in the linguistic philosophy. Before we begin the categorization theory of grammarians we must keep in mind that the philosophy of one ultimate Being influenced this science of language. Grammarians developed their theory of Being (*śabdatattva*) in the first *kāṇḍa* and ontology (*padārtha*) in the third *kāṇḍa* of VP. Both linguistic categorization (parts of speech) and philosophical categorization are closely connected to each other. Sentence is a synthesis of linguistic categories whereas the *artha* they express is also a synthesis of the ontological categories. The method of categorization is abstraction *apoddhāra.* Abstraction is based on *anvaya* and *vyatireka.*

Paṇinian grammar is the monument of the linguistic or grammatical study in the same way Bhartṛhari's VP. is the monument of linguistic philosophy. NV. theory of *padārthas* got enough attention in the field of philosophy and the most important achievement of this theory is the establishment of *abhāva* as *padārtha.* But the categorization in linguistic field has got less attention. This paper presents a textual study of Bhartṛhari's VP. and Helārāja's commentary called PP. in search of the linguistic and ontological categorization as well as for the oldest methods and principles of categorization.

In Indian philosophy, the oldest categorization of linguistic units (*padas*) can be found in the *Nirukta* of Yāska (Nir. 1.1) as *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga,* and *nipāta.* Yāska defined first two categories in terms of 'philosophy of being' saying that the verb is primarily concerned with 'being and becoming'. These nouns are concerned with existents. Overlooking the influence of 'philosophy of Being,' Pāṇini divided linguistic units into two main groups i.e, *subanta* and *tiṅanta* to formally explain the formal setup of the science of language. *Kṛdanta, taddhitānta, nipāta, karmapravacanīya,* and *avyaya* are included under the broad category *nāma.* Each *subanta* and *tiṅanta* is again divided into two parts; *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* by formal enterprise of Pāṇinian grammar. *padārthas* are expressed by both parts when they are inter-connected.

For Helārāja, *sattā-vivarta* is the basis of noun-verb division. It is of two types, *siddha* and *sādhya.*[2] Linguistic category *nipāta* comes under the broad category *nāma* or *ākhyāta.* It denotes the particularity of the category expressed by the *nāma* or sometimes by the category *ākhyāta.* Pāṇini's division of linguistic categories is for the sake of linguistic processing or for the sake of rule formation. Only *tiṅantas* are not *ākhyāta.* But whatever expresses an action prominently is *ākhyāta* like the *nipātas* '*hirug* ' etc. The other category *upasarga* expresses the particularity of the action expressed by *ākhyāta* to which it is associated. Sometimes grammarians talk about another category *karmapravacanīya* which denotes specific relation between words.[3] Thus other linguistic categories are considered as the subsets of the two main categories. But, in Bhartṛhari's philosophy, existence is not different from the existents. Being manifests itself into two forms, accomplished (existents) and 'to be' accomplished (existing in the form action). Linguistic categories either denote *siddha* form of the being or *sādhya* form of the Being.

Most schools in Indian philosophy have linked the theory of category with the theory of meaning. Each school discusses the ontological nature of the meaning, i.e., whether it is universal, or substance, or both. Grammatical tradition is divided into two groups. One holds that ontologically meaning is universal and the other holds the view that substance is the ontological nature of the meaning. Bhartṛhari and Helārāja have discussed these issues extensively in the third *kāṇḍa* of VP. *Jātisamuddeśa* being the first *samuddeśa* of the third *kāṇḍa* summarizes the theory of categorization (*padārtha*). According to them, there is no ultimate difference between the two as they denote Being as universal or substance. Helārāja's remark in 77.c of *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa* (hereafter PP.) is that in the universalist theory of meaning is about all pervading Being or universal existence. Whereas in the *padavādi* view the *pariniṣṭhita* form of Being is the meaning of all words. But here also universal denotes *upacārasattā*.

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[2] PP. on VP. 3.1.35 para 77, b.

[3] PP. on VP. 3.1.1.

When we look into the categorization of grammarians, we find that the linguistic categories are established at the early stage of the grammatical study. Yāska had presented the oldest linguistic categorization. But, grammarians did not discuss the relation of these ontological categories with the ontological categorization though their linguistic categorization had a philosophical point of view. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and other grammarians engaged themselves in the philosophical discussions of the ontological categories of the other philosophical schools. But their independent theory of ontological categorization was yet to develop. Bhartṛhari put forward the ontological theory while discussing the nature of word-meaning. Thus the third *kāṇḍa* of VP. became a monument of grammatical philosophy as it provided the ontology which is necessary for building a new system of knowledge.

3. Identification of *padārtha* in PP. and VP.

The subject matter of Sanskrit Grammar is the *anvākhyāna* of the Vedic and natural language. While discussing the meanings of words they also discuss the nature of ontological categories (*padārthas*). As we have mentioned in the earlier section we could not find a comprehensive picture of ontological categories (*padārtha*) in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Bhartṛhari, for the first time, presented a systematic approach to the philosophy of language and discussed the ultimate being in the form of *śabdatattva* in the first *kāṇḍa*. In the second *kāṇḍa*, he had showed that through the *saṃsarga* principle we can find unity in the different parts connected in the whole. *Saṃsarga* unifies all differences among *padārthas*. It is a pre-required condition to know the ultimate being. As a grammarian, he explained this by showing the unity of the sentence. This philosophical principle is no where stated explicitly in the second *kāṇḍa*, but it can be inferred from PP. Because, in his commentary on the JS, Helārāja frequently connected the abstraction of categories with the abstraction of *padas* from sentence. A careful study of VP. and PP. gives us a clear picture of the categories of the world of grammarians. According to them (1) *Dravya* (Substance), (2) *Guṇa* (Quality), (3) *Sambandha* (Relation), (4) *Sādhana* (Means), (5) *Kriyā* (Action), (6) *Dik* (Space), (7) *Saṅkhyā* (Numbar) and (8) *Kāla* (Time). It is clear from this list that grammarians do not accept *samavāya, viśeṣa,* and *abhāva* as categories. Grammarians argue that categories have two parts one real and other unreal. Real part of them is universal and unreal is particular. A category cannot be a category if we cannot establish the universal of it. Thus universal is the necessary condition for being *padārtha.*

Any system of ontology that is adequate for defining the concepts used in natural languages must be at least as flexible as the languages themselves: it must be able to accommodate all the categories of thought that are humanly conceivable and relate them to all possible experiences, either directly by human senses or indirectly by whatever instrumentation any scientist or engineer may invent. As a foundation for such an ontology, this paper proposes the philosophies of three logicians who understood the limitations of logic in dealing with the both the flux and the logos. The primary task of ontology is to bridge the gap between what exists and the languages, both natural and artificial, for talking and reasoning about what exists [VP. 28, 14].

3.1 Textual Study

The vast third *kāṇḍa* it is difficult to search for the ontological categories in grammar. The textual study of both the texts VP. and PP. says that the word *padārtha* is used for ontological categories in PP. But Bhartṛhari used the term *śakti* rather than the term *padārtha* for categories.[4] Categories are the powers or capacities of the ultimate being to manifest themselves in the diversified world.

Helārāja explains the nature of *śakti* while commenting upon the verse VP. 3.6.1. *Śaktis* are *paropādhirūpā*. He also says that *pāratantrya* is the characteristic feature of *śakti*. Just like action is the *dravya-pāratantrā śakti*. Bhartṛhari had used the terms *padārtha* and *śakti* in connection with *jāti, dravya, dik, sādhana, kriyā* and *kāla*. These powers are described in various *samuddeśas* of the third *kāṇḍa* of VP. But there are 14 *samuddeśas* in the third *kāṇḍa*. The explanation and number of *padārthas* are vital to the study of third *kāṇḍa*. A textual study of both, VP. and PP. is made. The term *padārtha* is used 61 times in the VP. and 182 times in PP. There is very little consistency or uniformity in the use of the term *padārtha* in the grammatical texts and in the philosophical texts also.

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[4] *dik sādhanam kriyā kāla iti vastvabhidhāyinaḥ* !
śaktirūpe padārthānām atyantam anavasthitāḥ II *VP.* 3,6.1

3.1.1 Use of the word *padārtha* for subject-matters of VP. in PP.

In the beginning of the PP., Helārāja mentions that VP. is devoted to the discussion of eight *padārthas*. He says –

> *iha padārthāṣṭaka-vicāra-paratvād vākyapadīyasya prathama-*
> *kāṇḍena prayojanādi-padārthe nirṇīte 'nantara-kāṇḍopa-pāditopapattibhiḥ*
> *vākya-tad-arthayor anvākhyeya-sthitalakṣaṇayoḥ padārthayor*
> *nirṇītatvāttad-aupayikāpoddhāra-rūpa-pada-vicāraḥ prakramyate |*
> *tatrāniyata-vikalpo yathābhiprāyam apoddhāra iti yathā-saṃbhavaṃ*
> *pada-bhedān uddiśati |*

This sentence gives rise to some confusion regarding the meaning of the term *padārtha*. The confusion arises because of the use of the word *padārthas* in connection with the word *prayojana* of the first *kāṇḍa*. Peri Sarveswar Sarma, in his article, "Eight topics which form the subject-matter of the Vākyapadīya" presented a detailed discussion on the eight topics in VP. 1.24-26. The meaning of the term *padārtha* here is not the usual meaning of the term *padārtha*. This term usually means 'object', 'thing' or 'word-meaning'. In this sentence, the term is used three times. The use of *padārthāṣṭaka* reminds eight topics mentioned in the first *kāṇḍa*. But Bhartṛhari had never used the word *padārtha* in connection with these eight topics. According to him *padārthas* are *apoddhāra-padārthas*.

Therefore, he carefully phrased the verse as *apoddhārapadārtha ye cārthāḥ sthitalakṣaṇaḥ*. He used the term *artha* in connection with *sthitalakṣaṇa*. One may argue that it is a stylistic difference. But *sthitalakṣaṇārtha*, which is the meaning of sentence cannot be considered as *padārtha* in the sense of word-meaning. Verses

VP. 1.24-25 deal with the objectives of the treatise. The interpretation of the above quoted Helārāja's sentence the line of *prayojana* etc. is suitable in that sense. But the question here is whether the term *padārtha* is ever used in the sense of objective or topic. If not, can it be the meaning of the term *padārtha* in Helārāja's sentence? It is doubtful whether we will find any evidence for such interpretation. Why Helārāja used this term then?

The constituent term *artha* seems to be a slippery term in the term *padārtha*. One of the meanings mentioned in *Nirukta* 1.3 is 'purpose' and it can support Helārāja's use of the term *padārtha* in the sense of topic. Another defense for this translation is from the Nyāyaśāstra where Udyotakara (6th-7th century) glosses the term *padārtha* as *tatpadārthaḥ pramaṇādayaḥ, tasya śāstrasya padānām arthaḥ*. So *padārtha* means the meaning of the main technical terms used in a theoretical system [10]. Helārāja's intention behind this might be to present the connections between these key concepts of Bhartṛhari's philosophy. In this paper we attempt to list and explain the *apoddhāra-padārthas* which in our view constitute the ontology of the Bhartṛhari's philosophy and criteria for their being *padārtha*.

3.1.2 Ontological categories

According to the tradition of Sanskrit grammar ontological categorization is based on the language. As everything is in flux and everything can be expressed only in the language of any form be it auditory, or be it in the form of signs or gestures. Keeping this in mind Bhartṛhari most often makes it clear that the objects (*arthas*) that he is talking about are the objects of *buddhi*[5] and not the empirical objects.[6] The ontological stand of the grammarians in the *dravyavādin* view, is that there is one ultimate being. This ultimate being has two *śaktis*. One is called *jāti* and the other is *vyakti*. All objects are the synthesis (*saṃsarga*) of the ontological categories. Ontological categories are abstracted from the cognition of these objects. Every object is divided into two parts or entities; one that is real is universal and the other that is unreal is particular.[7] But the ultimate being is something to which we cannot attribute the (*viśeṣaṇa*) *eka* (same) and *pṛthak* (different). It is neither *saṃsarga* nor *vibhāga.*[8] Helārāja on VP. 3.2.12 points out that this ultimate substance is the cause of the expanse of existence and nonexistence. But in reality it is neither existent nor inexistent.

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[5] *Buddhyarthas*.

[6] *Vastvarthas*.

[7] *satyāsatyau tu yau bhāgau pratibhāvaṃ vyavasthitau* |
Satyaṃ yat tatra sā jātir asatyā vyaktayaḥ smṛtaḥ || VP. 3.1.32 ||

Helārāja, to a certain extent, explained the nature of the ontological categories, their existence, and their relation to each other. We have found around 186 occurrences of the word *padārtha* in PP.[9] It is impossible to present all occurrences here. So we present our observations based on this textual study. Helārāja points out the necessity of discussing *padārthas* in grammar. He says-

pratyakṣā api ca padārthāḥ svakāryaṃ vijñānādikaṃ kurvantaḥ santīti vyavahriyante, kiṃ punaḥ śabda-vācyāḥ padārthā iti sāmānya-vacanād dravyādayo 'pi śabda-vācyatvenaiva lakṣyante |
śabda-pramāṇakānāṃ hi yac-chabda āha tat-paramārtha-rūpam |
(*Diksamuddeśa* 24 37e.1-2)[10]

Helārāja raises the question that though the *padārthas* are perceivable and functions in the act of cognition, why do we grammarian again explain the *padārthas* denoted by words? He further provides the answer *yady api bahir-vastūni na santi tathāpi śabdais tathā pratyāyyante, ato 'bhidhā-vyāpāra-vaśād anvayi-rūpeṇa pratyāyanād vyāptir jātau padārthe siddhety eṣo 'py arthaḥ* | He again makes it clear in 55a.1 saying that *śabdārtho 'artha iti vā padārtha-vyavasthā iyam.* Like VP., in PP. too we find the term *padārtha* is often related to *jāti.* Whether it is separate entity or not is not clear as the two readings, *bhāvau* and *bhāgau* in the verse *satyāsatyau tu yau* ... (VP. 3,1.32) shows that Bhartṛhari's ontology can either hold the view that each object is a synthesis of two *bhāvas* (entities) or is of a complex nature of two *bhāgas.* If we follow the second alternative we find that Bhartṛhari differs from the realistic schools and maintains that universal is real but not a separate entity. Based on this ontological position *jātivādī* grammarians hold that sentence meaning is an indivisible universal sentence. For them it is *saṃsarga* of the *jātis* of *padārthas.*[11]

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[8] VP. 3.2.12

[9] So far the word-index of PP. is unavailable so we have manually collected these occurrences from the Iyer's edition of third *kāṇḍa* of VP. Due to human errors the number of occurrences may vary.

[10] The numbers given here are the numbers of the paragraphs marked by [21].

3.1.3 Remarks on the textual study of the term *padārtha* in PP. and VP.

Identification of the ontological categories in the philosophy of grammar thus becomes problematic because of the use of the term *padārtha.* Our observation on the basis of the careful study of the texts of VP. an PP. shows that to make the distinction between the ontological category and what is meant by word Bhartṛhari used the term *śakti.* The very first sentence of PP. gives rise to another confusion and equates eight *padārthas* with eight subject matters. To identify the ontological categories in the philosophy of grammar one must carefully note the use of the words *śakti* and *padārtha* in VP. and PP. We find that Bhartṛhari did not use the word *śakti* with gender, *upagraha* and *puruṣa.* Though Helārāja used the term *padārtha* in few cases with them, it indicates what is meant by words.

Bhartṛhari and Helārāja both maintained that even in the view that the logical substance[12] is the meaning of the word there is no contradiction. Because, substance according to them is the *āśraya* of the *dravyadharmas.* The discussion on *Jātisamuddeśa* is focused on the word-meaning as universal. With respect to the meaning, *padārthas* are *jāti* or *dravya.*[13] The list of *padārthas* or to be precise *apoddhāra-padārthas*, as. ontological categories starts with the *dravya, guṇa* etc.[14] Helārāja points out that these *(dravya, guṇa* etc.) *padārthas* are not grasped differently in the sentence but first we understand the *saṃsarga.* From that we further grasp the *padārthas* on the basis of *apoddhāra.*[15] In the beginning of the *Diksamuddeśa* Bhartṛhari listed four *padārthas*; *dik, kāla, kriyā*, and *sādhana.*[16] *Dravya* and *saṃbandha* are the other two categories dealt with in the earlier *samuddeśas.*

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[11] *Jātisamuddeśa* 24c.3 of Iyer's edition of VP. (1994).

[12] According to Matilal, Patañjali's definition of *dravya* is the definition of the substance which is the logical subject [24].

[13] *Jātirvā dravyaṃ vā padārthāv ityuktam* (*Dravyasamuddeśa* 1a.1) and *jātidravye hi sarvaśabdānām artha iti "siddhe śabdārthasaṃbandhe"* (*Bhūyodravyasamuddeśa* 1b.1).

[14] *Bhūyodravyasamuddeśa.* 1c.1.

[15] *Bhūyodravya.* 4a.2 and 6a.1.

[16] *Diksamuddeśa* 1a.1.

3.2 Principle and method behind the categorization

The general principle behind the formation of categories is cognitive economy that is to reduce the infinite differences among stimuli to behaviourally and cognitively usable proportions. Second, it reflects the perceived world structure, as the objects in the world possess high correlational structure. According to Helārāja, *apoddhārabuddhi* (abstraction) is the form of cognition. Categorization is the result of that *apoddhārabuddhi.*[17] The nature of abstraction is *anvaya* and *vyatireka*[18] Method of abstraction is used as a philosophical reasoning in Indian philosophy. In modern psycho-linguistics and cognitive studies also abstraction is used as a method of categorization. Rosch investigated four converging operational definitions of the basic level of abstraction: (1) attributes in common, (2) motor movements in common, (3) objective similarity in shape, and (4) identifiably of averaged shapes. She found that objects were first perceived at their basic level; that basic level words were the first to be acquired in infancy and that the basic level is linguistically the most useful.[19]

In cognition we grasp form or stimuli of the worldly objects. According to Helārāja the reason behind the abstraction of linguistic categories from the sentence is the *lakṣya-lakṣyaṇabhāva* relation with the *laukika* division of objects such as *dravya, guṇa, kriyā.*[20] The *arthas* abstracted are of two types; (a) *lokaprasiddha* like *paśu, devatā* and (b) *śāstra-paribhāṣita* like *Vaiśeṣika* categories. He further points out that, grammarians do not accept the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* theory of *padārtha* instead they developed their system-specific theory of *padārthas.* Helārāja presents a bird's eye view of the subjects of third *kāṇḍa* and their characteristic features in *Bhūyodravya-samuddeśa.* He says that the characteristic features of *padārthas* are known by *anumāna* from the rules of grammar. *Dravya* according to him is *bhedya.* It is the cause of the diversity of words as substances are expressed prominently.[21]

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17. Subramania Iyer K. A., explained *apoddhāra* as a grammatical analysis in his paper "Bhartṛhari on grammatical analysis" in *Vishveshawaranand Indological Journal* (Hoshiarpur) in 1980.

18. For the detailed analysis of *anvaya-vyatireka* see Cardona, "*Anvaya* and *vyatireka* in Indian grammar," *Adyar Library Bulletin* 31-32 (1968):313-352.

19. See E. Rosch, "Principles of categorization," In: E. Rosch, B. Lloyd (eds.): *Cognition and Categorization.* Hilldale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1978.

20. PP. on VP. 3.4.1-2 para 7a-b.

21. PP. on VP. 3.4.1-2 para 11a.

He, further explains the nature of the next *padārtha guṇa* as *āśritatva*. He quotes (Vā. on P. 5.1.119) *yasya guṇasya hi bhāvād dravye śabdaniveśastadabhidhāne tvatalau* in support of it. He further says that from linguistic usage we can see that sometimes universal also becomes *guṇa*-[22] (P. 4.1.44) *voto guṇavacanāt* is an indication of this view. The next category he mentions is *kāla*. *Kāla* is known as *dhātvarthopādhi* indicating an action of past, future and present (P. 1.2.58), points out the nature of *saṃkhyā* as *bhedagaṇanā*. Helārāja further mentions that gender is known as *guṇa*. This becomes possible by accepting the Vaiśeṣika definition of *guṇa*. He further explains the nature of *sādhana*. It is the capacity to accomplish the action. Though it depends upon a substance it is not the invariable nature of the substance. Therefore, it is understood as different category. Substance is unchanged in all situations. So it cannot express *the śeṣabhāva* or *kartṛ-karmabhāva*. The necessity of the category *sādhana* is indicated by the *avyayībhāvasamāsa* like *adhistrī*. *Dikpadārtha* is necessary to establish the notion of east, west etc. It becomes the *viśeṣaṇa* of substance, action etc. Helārāja further talks about the *puruṣa* and *upagraha* but seems to be excluding them from the *padārthas*. They can be *padārtha* only in the sense that they are expressed by *padas*. Linguistic category *ākhyāta* denotes *kriyā, kāla, sādhana, saṅkhyā, puruṣa, upagraha* whereas *nāma* denotes *dravya, liṅga, saṅkhyā, sādhana* and also *kriyā* and *kāla*. Helārāja did not use the word *padārtha* in connection with *liṅga, puruṣa, upagraha* etc. At the end he says that linguistic units (*padas*) express them therefore they can be *padārtha* but not in the sense of categories.

Helārāja on VP. 3.3.88 clearly stated what grammarians mean by the term *padārtha*. He said that grammar is the science of *laukika* words. Hence, grammarians explain the indivisible sentence on the basis of the *lokaprasiddhapadārtha-prakriyā*.[23] He further says that when we grammarians say *kriyāvacano dhātuḥ, sattvapradhānāni nāmāni, pratyāyakaḥ pratyayaḥ* we are talking about *kriyā, guṇa* etc. *laukika-padārthas* (ontological categories).

Grammarians engage themselves in the controversial debate in which some hold Vyāḍi's view of substance as word-meaning and others hold universalist theory of

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[22] *jātirapi bhāvapratyayābhidheya iti guṇo 'sāvevamupapadyate* PP. on VP. 3.4.1-2 para 12a.

[23] PP. on VP. 3.3.88 para 98c.

Vājapyāyana. Patañjali accepted both views in *siddhe śabdārtha sambandhe.*[24] But this debate is related to the ontological nature of the meaning and not with what we cognize or what we express as universal or substance in meaning.

Bhartṛhari in the beginning of *Bhūyodravya-samuddeśa* explained how grammarians identify the *padārthas*; categories of our cognition. Cognition itself is embedded with the language and therefore these categories are abstracted on the basis of language. Bhartṛhari's words are as follows –

> *saṃsargarūpāt sambhūtāḥ saṃvidrūpād apoddharāḥ I*
> *śāstre vibhaktā vākyārthāt prakṛtipratyayārthavat IIVP. 3.4.1II*
> *Nimittabhūtāḥ sādhutve śāstrād anumitātmakāḥ I*
> *kecit padārthāvakṣyante saṅkṣepeṇa yathāgamam IIVP. 3.4.2II*

3.2.1 Dravya

Most of the discussion on substance in grammatical texts is centreed on the definitions given by *Sāṅkya* and *Yoga* philosophers. These philosophers gave two definitions of *dravya* (1) *guṇasamūho dravyam*, (2) *ayutasiddhāvayavagataḥ samūho dravyam.* Patañjali, on the rule *striyām* (P.4.1.3), points out that how language works assuming the above mentioned definitions. He says:

yadi guṇasamudāyo dravyam, kā gatirya ete bhāvāḥ kṛdabhihitāḥ, tadabhihitāśca cikīrṣā gateti I atha matametat kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavad bhavatīti, strītvamapi stritvenābhihitam bhaviṣyati 'striyām' I

So according to grammarians, the meanings which are expressed by *kṛt* and *strī* suffixes are *dravyavat.* This suggests that grammarians accept Sāṅkya and Yoga definition of *dravya* and form their grammatical rules according to that. The NV definition of substance is *kriyāguṇavat samavāyīkāraṇam iti dravyalakṣaṇam.*[25] This rule talks about the 3 different characteristics of *dravya* (1) *kriyāvat dravyam,* (2) *guṇavat dravyam* and (3) *samavāyīkāraṇam. Vaiśeṣikas* say that substance is *avayavī* and *guṇas* are *avayavas.* Grammarians do not accept *avayavī* as different from the *avayavas*. Because, in language *avayava* and *avayavin* are same. Pāṇini knowing their non-difference formulated the rule *saṃkhyāyāḥ avayave tayap* [27][26].

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[24] PP. 3.4 para. 1.b.

[25] *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* 1.1.15.

Pāṇini used the term *dravya* in P. 5.4.11[27], P. 5.4.104[28] and P. 5.1.51.[29] (P. 4.104) is the *nipātana* of the word *dravya*. Whereas, other two rules are concerned with the category substance. Patañjali on *striyām* P.4.1.3 pointed out that language does not allow us to hold the *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* definition of *guṇasamuho dravyam, ayuta-siddhāvayavānu-gataḥ samūho dravyam* as we will face the problem in *kṛdanta* and *taddhita* formation. *Bhāvas* denoted by *kṛt* suffixeṣ and the *stritva* etc. expressed by *taddhita* words will become substance.

Grammarians accept two types of substance; 1. *Pāramārthika* and 2. *Sāṃvyavahārika*. On VP. 3.2.1 Helārāja explains that Vyāḍi's theory of meaning as substance is based on the *pāramārthika-dravya*. Universal, which is unexpressed according to this view, becomes *avacchedikā* of the substance. Vedāntin call this Substance as *ātmā* which is ascertained as different due to its association with different *upādhis*. *Śaṅkhyas* call it as *svabhāva*. This Substance is ascertained as substance when we cognize the existence without any sequence. This thought of philosophical substance originated from *Mahābhāṣya* where Patañjali said -*'eko' ayamātmā udakaṃ nāma* to show that this philosophical substance itself is expressed by the empirical substances like *udaka, ghaṭa* etc. All words denoting substances (like *ghaṭa* etc.) reside in this substance through their universals[27][30].

The ultimate substance is imperishable and is identical with *Ātman.*[31] NV. definition is not accepted by grammarians. For them *dravya* is *guṇasamūhātmakam eva dravyam. Dravya* is not something above or different than *guṇa*. It is like *guṇa* (*tadātmaka*). Because, nothing can be perceived without *rūpa guṇas* etc.. Nāgeśa on P. 5.4.135 says -*rūpādisamudāyasya gandhalakṣaṇo guṇa ekānto bhavati* I

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[26] P. 5.2.42.

[27] *Kimettiṅvyayaghādāmvadravyaprakarśe* I

[28] *Dravyañca bhavye* I

[29] *Vasnadrāvyabhyāṃṭhak-ṭhanau*

[30] *Ākṛtidvāreṇa cānye śabdā dravye vartante* I Helārāja on VP. 3.2.1 para. 2k. Why grammarians bring this *pāramārthika-dravya* into their philosophy? May be they felt that it is impossible to express the essence of all words without that. Therefore the essence of the word which itself is *dravya* in their system is the Ultimate Reality or ultimate Substance.

[31] VP.3.4.1.

So for to Nāgeśa *apṛthaksiddhāvayavaviśeṣarūpa-guṇasamudāyasyaiva dravyatvam.* Similarly, in VSLM, he says-*ayutasiddhāvayavaviśeṣānugata-sāmānya-viśeṣarūpaguṇa-samūhasyaiva dravyatvam* where *ayutasiddha* is *apṛthaksiddha.*

Sāṃvyāvahārika-dravya, empirical substance is a grammatical substance which is used only in the grammar. This type of substance is always associated with gender, number and *kāraka.* Therefore, *bhāva* (sense) which is expressed by the *kṛt* suffixes is also considered as substance in grammar. For instance, gender cannot be associated with any other category than substance because *guṇas* are dependent and equal. Hence, in language, quality *strītva* is also expressed as *dravya.*[32] This *sāṃvyāvahārika dravya* in language is a synthesis or assemblage of the *śaktis* such as gender, number, *karma.*

3.2.2 *Guṇa*

NV. philosopher define *guṇa* as - *dravyāśrayaguṇavān saṃyoga-vibhāgeṣv-akārāṇam anapekṣa iti guṇalakṣaṇam. Guṇa,* quality is the second of the seven categories of reality cannot exist by itself but exists only in a substance in NV. philosophy. It cannot, thus, be the constituent or material cause of anything's existence. It differs from substance and action in the sense that it is an unmoving property.

In grammar, Pāṇini used this category in P. 2.1.30, P. 2.2.9, P. 2.2.11, P. 4.1.44, 5.1.24, P. 5.3.58, P. 6.2.24, and P. 6.2.93. From these rules, grammarians draw two characteristic features of the category *guṇa* : (1) *sattve niveśite 'paiti* and (2) *saṃsargibhedakaṃ ca.* First characteristic feature shows the dependence of this category and states that it depends upon the substance (*sattva*) for its existence. But it also states that it can depart from the substance and still substance will not lose its form. For example an apple is an apple even if it loses its colour green and bares new colour red.

Therefore, grammarians maintain that *dravyaṃ āśriyate, tata eva ca dravyānnivartate bhinnajātīyeṣu ca dṛśyate yaḥ sa guṇaḥ*[33] It differs from universal as unlike universal it departs from the substance, and can be seen in some different entities. Universal does not abandon its substance until its destruction.[34]

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[32] MBh. on P. 4.1.3.

[33] *Pradīpa* 4.1.44.

Grammarians mention five characteristic features of *guṇa*; (1) *sattve niveśite 'apaiti*, (2) *pṛthak jātiṣu dṛśyate*, (3) *ādheyaḥ*, (4) *akriyājaḥ* and (5) *asattva-prakṛtiḥ* [27]. With these characteristics, they encompass the NV. definition of *guṇa*. But as they see *guṇa* is dependent on substance, they give emphasis on the *pāratantrya* of the category. Kaiyaṭa explained grammarians' views in *Pradīpa* 5.1.59 with the example sentences in support. From his discussion we find two characteristics of the *guṇa* are important for grammarians. (1) *pāratantrya* and (2) *bhedaka*. Here are the two expressions which grammarians give in support of their views regarding the nature of *guṇa*.

Case (1) *dhanaṃ ānaya*. Here *dhana* is not *svatantra* in the action of bringing. Therefore due to its dependence, it is treated as *guṇa*. In this case *dhana* is considered as *guṇa* as it is dependent in the action of bringing.[35]

Case (2) *śuklam*. Whenever one hears the word white, some substance is expected to be in connection to it. Here, *guṇa* is *bhedaka* of the substances like cloth, animal etc.[36] Mbh. on P.1.1.1 also explains *guṇa* as *bhedaka*. For example, water is the same and one but it becomes different as hot-water or cold-water due to *uṣṇa* and *śīta guṇas*. But sometimes *guṇa* is not seen as *bhedaka*.

3.2.3 *Sambandha*

As mentioned in the earlier section the characteristic feature of any *padārtha* is *pāratantrya*. Bhartṛhari and Helārāja demonstrated the dependence of *sambadha* also *śaktimatva* of it. In verses VP. 3.3,5-5 Bhartṛhari explains the dependence of *sambandha*. Helārāja in PP. on VP. 3.3.5 para 20a-c explained that *sambandha* is dependent because it is impossible to have a relation which independent. Independent entity cannot be a relation at all. Not only that, there cannot be any relation in independent entities. Relation is possible when there is some kind of dependence. For example, *guṇa* depends upon a *dravya* for *ādhāra*. Hence there can be a relation *āśrayāśrayībhāva* in them. Both substance and quality are capacities and relation relates these two capacities. Thus being a capacity relation relates other capacities which are dependent on their *ādhāras. Saṃyoga, samavāya* etc. are the *guṇa* relations. They are the *upādhis* of relation and not separate *padārthas.*[37] The reason for accepting relation as a category than the NV. category of *samavāya* is that *samavāya* and *saṃyoga* cannot explain the relation between word and meaning.[38]

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[34] MBh. on 1.2.52, *Pradīpa* 4.1.44.

[35] *Pradīpa* 5.4.59.

[36] *Pradīpa* 5.1.119.

3.2.4 *Kriyā*

Karma, action is viewed in the NV. school as a physical movement, but the term physical here refers to no more than just bodily movements because in VA. mind is also considered to be a kind of substance. There are five types of actions upward, downward, inward, outward and linear. The action of perceptible substances like earth, water, fire and air can be perceived by the five senses, but not all the actions of tangible substances can be perceived. The movement of the Earth, e.g., cannot be perceived, it can only be inferred.

Action is the meaning of the *dhātu* part of the *subanta pada.* It expresses *sādhyasvabhāva* of the being or existence. Grammarians gave importance to this category as it helps the notion of *Saḍbhāvavikāras.*

3.2.5 *Kāla*

Kāla is the cause of birth and destruction. It also causes the *saṅkoca, vikāsa* etc. of the objects. The entities which are not produced are called as *asadātmā* whereas produced objects are called as *sadātmā.* Though they are one they are conceived as different due to the capacity called *Kāla.*

3.2.6 *Saṅkhyā*

The characteristic feature of *saṅkhyā* is *bhedāpoddhāra* and is dependent on either *dravya* or *guṇa.* It causes difference in the substance like *śataṃ, śate, śatāni.*

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[37] PP. on VP. 3.3.6 para 21c-e.

[38] VP. 3.3.12.

3.2.7 *Sādhana*

Sādhanatva of enities is expressed by case-ending and not by the words *apādāna* etc. *Apādāna* etc. *sādhanaśaktis* helps the substance to accomplish the action. Necessity of the category *sādhana* is that an entity is an assemblage of capacities. Some of them are permanent and some appear only when they are related to an action. Such capacities as we see in the sentences like *ghaṭaṃ ānaya, ghatenodakaṃ ānaya* are called as *sādhanas.*[39] This is *atīndriya* category.

3.2.8 *Dik*

Dik is also seen as dependent. PP. on *Diksamuddeśa* 12d.1 explains that *dik* causes the difference in one indivisible and gives rise to the cognition of parts. It also makes us to conceive a small object like atom as eastern part of the object etc. The *saṃsthāna* is due to the space only. Entities in their real nature do not have parts. They are imagined in the synthesis.[40] When the capacities are not dependent, we cannot see the difference in them. But when due to the capacity of *dik,* they reside in other capacity. We cannot conceive the difference.

NV. philosophers do not consider *dik* as a *padārtha*. Bhartṛhari himself listed *dik* in the list of *padārthas.*[41] But Helārāja explained it's *padārthatva* (PP. para 1.b 3). He says this category is unique. According to him, words expressive of *siddha* form of being cannot denote *dik* directly. The function of this category is the *vyavahāra* like *idam asmāt pūrvaṃ paścād* and so on. This *avadhimat vyatireka* causes the understanding of *dik*. Because of this category we can see the one unified, indivisible thing as an entity having parts.

4. Conclusion

From this historiographical study of the ontological categories reflected in the grammatical texts we found that right from the time of Pāṇini, grammarians have engaged themselves in the discussion of what there is. Being is common to all the knowledge systems represented in Sanskrit grammar. They often criticized NV. discipline, rejecting their categories like *guṇa* and *dravya.*

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[39] VP. 7.7.20.

[40] PP. *Diksamuddeśa* 13a. 4.

[41] VP. 3.6.1.

The tenant of Bhartṛhari is systematizing the philosophical discussions and developing the ontology, epistemology of the philosophy of grammar rather than just presenting interactive dialogues or criticism of the other philosophical thoughts. His division of the third *kāṇḍa* is the best attempt of the greatest philosophical worry, what there is ? In section 3.1.2 we have presented the Bhartṛhari's and Helārāja's views on the ontology. Textual study of the term *padārtha* in VP. and PP. helps us to understand the connection between the *samuddeśas.*

Helārāja's comments are important in making the ontological and epistemological views of Bhartṛhari clear. As, Bhartṛhari accepted both *jāti* and *dravya* as the *padārtha*, his job was to explain both views and show how ultimately these two views are not different. He also engaged himself in showing the necessity of universals in the substance view. He does it while using the notion of *upacāra-sattā.* Ontological categories discussed by Bhartṛhari in various *samuddeśas* are the categories of the possible intentional being (*upacāra-sattā*).

Ontology of grammarians arose from the firm belief that we cannot meaningfully talk about anything which does not exist. This belief imposes a relationship between ontology, criteria of ontological commitment, and the meaningfulness of words. Whenever we speak we commit ourselves to the existence of those things to which we refer.

Helārāja can be credited for distinguishing the two senses of the term *padārtha* i.e., meaning and ontological category. As far as meaning is concerned, he follows Bhartṛhari and holds that universal is denoted by all words. It means that ontological nature of meaning is universal. What is understood as universal is the categories like *dravya, guṇa, kriyā* etc. He also presented the ontological and philosophical basis of linguistic categorization in terms of *nāma, ākhyāta* etc. He discussed the nature of *sattā* (existence) at length and for him linguistic categorization is the footprint of the *sattā-vivarta.*

Most importantly Helārāja explained the method of categorization. The method used by Bhartṛhari for the categorization of linguistic and ontological categories is abstraction. In modern day also categorization is based on the principle of abstraction. In section 3.3 we have pointed out that Rose's principles of categorization are similar to the principles used by Helārāja.

Padārthas are expressed by the term *śakti* in VP. The term *padārtha* is used in the sense of *padena vācya* whereas PP. used this term in both senses. The very first occurrence of the term *padārtha* in PP. for subject-matters of VP. should not be linked with the later occurrences of the term *padārtha.*

Abbriviations

Mbh.	*Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*
Nir.	*Nirukta*
NV.	*Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*
P.	*Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī*
PP.	*Prakīrṇa-Prakāśa,* Eds. Iyer
VP.	*Vākyapadīya,* Eds. Rau
VSLM.	*Vai. Si. Laghu Mañjūṣā*

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ŚULKA IN THE INDIAN TRADITION[†]

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Some concepts as traditions and customs have played considerably significant role in the Indian society since ancient times, and continue to do so may be at a smaller scale to this date in various ways. *Śulka* is one of them. The term is related to State Economy and Socio – legal, and then Socio – political aspects of life.

Let us examine them in details –

I) Context of State Economy –

(1.1) *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1.18.13) says – *Sāmudraśśulkaḥ* ।

(In his *Vivaraṇa-ṭīkā*, Śrī Govindasvāmī explains –
Rājño bhavati-iti śeṣaḥ ।
Dvīpāntarādāhṛtam sāmudram vastu tat-sambandhi
sāmudraśśulkaḥ paṇadravyam ।)

Thus *śulka* is the custom duty levied on the merchandise arrived through maritime trade.

(1.2) *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (2.1.26) notes – *Viṁśati-bhāgaḥ śulkaḥ paṇye* ।
(In this context, Haradatta explains in *Mitākṣarā* –
Yadvaṇigbhirvikrīyate tat-paṇyam ।
Tatra viṁśatitamo bhāgo rājñe deyastasyaiva dīyamānasya śulka iti saṁjña ।)

Thus the twentieth portion of the value of the sale of the merchandise sold by the merchant/trader and which is given to the king, is called *śulka*.

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Gautama further says –*Tad-rakṣaṇa-dharmitvāt;* which indicates that the king offers protection to the tax-payers in return.

(1.3) *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* (19.37) also refers to *śulka* as the duty/toll tax on the merchandise for sale.

(1.4) *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (2.10.26.9) observes –

Tatra Gautamaḥ ı *Viṁśatitamabhāgam śulkam paṇye* ı
Yad-vaṇigbhirvikrīyate hiṅkhādi tasya viṁśatitamam bhāgam rājā gṛhṇīyāt ı
Tasya śulkaṃiti saṁjñā ıı

Thus here also *śulka* is the twentieth portion of the price of the merchandise for sale by traders to be given to the king as tax.

(1.5) At 10.119-120, Manu observes that the agriculturists, traders, manual workers and artisans are the main tax-payers. The former paid *bali, kara* and *bhāga,* while the traders paid *śulka*; the vendors paid dues in the form of fruits, flowers, vegetables etc daily to the king as *pratibhāga.* The offenders paid penalty or *daṇḍa.* In return, the king was to protect them or else, he becomes a sinner. Manu also mentions here that the rate of *śulka* may be increased as *āpad-dharma,* that is, in case of emergency.

(On *Manusmṛti* 8.307, Kullūka refers to *śulka* thus –

Śulkam sthala-jala-pathādinā vāṇijyakāritebhyo niyata-sthāneṣu dravyānusāreṇa grāhyam dānamiti prasidhham ı)

Thus it is clear that *śulka* is levied as per the prices of the commodities, proceeding for sale by waterways or by road.

(1.6) In his *Mahābhāṣya* on the *Vārttika Āyasthānebhyo ḍhak* – on Pāṇini's *sūtra* 4.2.104, Patañjali gives the terms *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* as examples, indicating thereby that *śulka* or toll (or duty) was levied as a source of income at the toll-gate.

(1.7) Further, at 2.263, Yājñavalkya says –

Tārikāḥ sthalajam śulkam gṛhṇan-dāpyaḥ paṇān-daśa ı
Brāhmaṇa-prativeśyānām-etad-eva-animantraṇe ıı

(On this *Mitākṣarā* comments –

Śulkam hi dvividham sthalajam jalajam ca ı

Both are further respectively explained as –

(i) *Ardha-prakṣepaṇāt-viṁśam bhāgam śulkam nṛpo haret* । (on 2.261ab) – that is, the king takes the twentieth portion of the profit of the price fixed on a commodity as *śulka* or duty, as it is the king who rules the market ultimately and appraises the commodities. In case the trader makes a false statement regarding the quantity of articles in order to evade the duty or *śulka* *(vañcanārtham paṇya-parimāṇam nihṛte)* or moves away or escapes from the place of the collection of the same *(śulka-grahaṇa-sthānāt-vā-apasarati)*, should be punished (*Ibid.* 2.262ab, also at 8.400). Here the references focus on *sthalaja śulka*–duty collected on commodities on the entry and or exit by land.

(1.8) The twenty-first chapter of the second *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Arthaśāstra* (KA) deals with the *Paṇyādhyakṣa* or the Collector of Customs and Duties. Here Kauṭilya refers to this concept as follows –

(i) *Śulka-śālā* or the Custom House as the office building near the main gates of the city (2.21.1).

(ii) *Śulka-dāyinaḥ* as the receivers of duty (2.21.2).

(iii) *Akṛta-śulka* as the evasion of duty in which case it becomes eightfold (2.21.17).

(iv) *Aśulka* as no duty on commodities like those for marriage, sacrifice and so on (2.21.18).

(v) *Ucchulka* or duty-free are those goods that are highly beneficial (2.21.23).

The next, that is, twenty second chapter (22.1,2) refers to this *Paṇyādhyakṣa* and the *Śulka-vyavahāra* carried out by him in the context of *bāhya* or goods for export-import (international trade) and *ābhyantara* or goods for domestic sale-purchase. Hence *niṣkrāmyam śulkam* is the export duty and *praveśyam śulkam* is the import duty to be charged in different proportions.

(1.9) Further, *Śukra-nīti-sāra* 4.4.104cd borrows this and notes – *Vikretṛ-kretṛto rājabhāgaḥ śulkam-udāhṛtam* । that is, *Śulka* is the portion to be given to the king from the sale/purchase of the merchandise. 4.4.105ab – *Śulkadeśa haṭṭamārgaḥ karasīmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* – that is, custom house was situated near the market-places and borders to facilitate the collection of *śulka*.

Further, 4.4.13,14 explicitly specify the purpose of *śulka* –

Daṇḍa-bhū-bhāga-śulkaistu vinā kośād balasya ca ।
Saṁrakṣaṇam bhavet-samyag yāvat-viṁśativatsaram ॥

Tathā kośastu sandhārya svaprajā-rakṣaṇa-kṣamaḥ ।
Bala-mūlo bhavet-kośaḥ kośamūlaṁ balaṁ smṛtam ॥

- that is, the king should levy appropriate penalty, tax on land etc. and *śulka* so as to fill the treasury in order to maintain the army for twenty years; for, the treasury is the root of the army and *vice versa*. It then comments at 4.4.15 that by vigilantly strengthening and maintenance of the treasury and army in a proper way the king can protect the subjects. Thereby nation prospers and he attains heaven –

Bala-saṁrakṣaṇāt kośarāṣṭravṛddhirarikṣayaḥ ।
Jāyate tat-tryam svargaḥ prajāsaṁrakṣaṇena vai ॥

(1.10) *Nītiprakāśika*, a comprehensive but not a big text on *Rājanīti* and *Dhanurvidyā*, refers to *śulka* while discussing taxation as a part of *Rājadharma* or the duties of the king. It states (8.56) that the king should levy taxes in different proportions as was done by the earlier kings in a manner that the people find no difficulty in paying them. Then it says that the king should not take *śulka* from brahmins nor any tax. (8. 57). Here the commentary *Tattvavivṛtti* of Sītārāma explains *śulka* as –

Śulkam ghaṭṭādiṣu nūtana-vastra-dhānya-ekadeśeyadyāharaṇa-ghaṭṭādideyam śulko'strī iti-amaraḥ ॥

Thus, Śulka is the duty levied on newly manufactured goods such as cloth, crop and other goods for sale by road, and is paid on entry there.

(1.11) Therefore, quoting Amara as – *Māsula iti bhāṣā* – *Śabdakalpadruma* explains it thus –

(i) *Ghaṭṭāḥ panthāḥ tatra-ādinā dravya-vikrayasvanādau ca yad-deyam dīyate sa śulkaḥ* ।

(ii) *Vācaspatyam* as – *Ghaṭṭādideye rājakāre* and *Rājagrāhyakarabhede amaraḥ* ।

It was the duty levied on newly manufactured goods such as cloth etc. proceeding to the market for sale brought by road etc.

Thus, it can be observed that *śulka* or toll-tax and custom duty formed a principal and perennial source of income to the *Kośa* or State Treasury, besides other sources such as *bhāga* or the king's share of the produce of the land and *daṇḍa* or fine/penalty from the offenders of law and defeated litigants.

In the above discussion we can trace the first connotation of the term *śulka* as coming under the sphere of the State Economy.

II) Socio-legal Aspect –

The second connotation of the term *śulka* places it in the social and legal fields; for, here it is used in the context of marriage and property of women or *Strīdhana*. It is explained as –

(2.1) *Strī-dhana-bhede* by *Vācaspatyam*

(2.2) Nupital gift by Sir Monier Williams

(2.3) Mm. P. V. Kane discusses it under the topic of *strīdhana*. He renders it as 'women's property'.

The origin of this term *śulka* and its connotation can be traced back to the Vedic times. The ancient Smṛtis also refer to certain kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions or at different stages of her life.

Śulka is usually translated as 'bride price', 'bride's fee', 'bridal amount' or ''bridal gratuity'. It may be in the form of cash, kind, cattle or slaves. It is usually given as nuptial gift by the bridegroom /husband. On her death it may go to her family. Therefore, *śulka* usually occurs during the discussions of various kinds of marriages – *vivāhas* as well as *Strīdhana* in the spheres of *Dharmaśāstra* and then in *Arthaśāstra*.

(In this context it must be noted that there are eight types of marriages or *vivāhas* – *brāhma, prājāpatya, ārṣa, daiva, gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa* and *paiśāca,* - depending upon the conditions involved in their occurrences. Of these the first four are considered to be lawful or *dharmya*, while the next four as unlawful or *adharmya*. And hence are not much preferred. Of these the (*ārṣa* and) *āsura* marriage is relevant here in the topic under discussion.)

(2.4) Kauṭilya discusses this topic elaborately. He says that in the *ārṣa vivāha* the father of the girl receives a pair of cattle from the bridegroom (KA 3.2.4 – *gomithunād-ārṣaḥ),* whereas in the *āsura vivāha*, the father of the girl receives *śulka* or 'bride-price' (3.2.7 *śulka-dānād-āsuraḥ).* The parents of the girl receive this price for her marriage (KA *Tau hi śulkaharau duhituḥ);* while the second bride-price is to be taken by the girl herself (3.2.12 - *Dvitīyam śulkam strī haret*). Thus the price as the condition of the marriage goes to her parents while the subsequent price given to her goes to the girl herself as it is given out of love and affection.

Further, on 3.2.7, the Śrīmūlā explains - *Ātmārthe kanyārthe ca varāt-śulkam gṛhītva yat kanyādānam, sa āsurākhyaḥ* ।)

At 3.2.19, Kauṭilya further elucidates, *Mṛte bhartari dharmakāmā tādānīmeva sthāpya-ābharaṇam śulkaśeṣam ca labheta* । that is, when the husband is dead, the widow (who was married by getting *śulka*) leading a pious life shall receive the endowment, ornaments and the remainder of the *śulka*. This implies that *śulka* retained validity even after the death of the husband who promised it at the time of marriage. In this connection itself Kauṭilya adds – *Śulkam-anvādheyam-anyat-vā bandhubhirdattam bāndhavā hareyuḥ* - that is, the *śulka* as the post-marriage gifts and other things given by the girls' relations will be taken by them.

This discussion occurs in KA under the topic of women's property.

In this context Kauṭilya further notes at 3.2.33-34, 44 respectively-

a) Difference in the waiting period for a woman for her husband who has gone away without informing – it is less if the *śulka* is partly paid token *(eka-deśa-datta-śulkā)* and more if the *śulka* is paid in full *(datta-śulkā)*.

b) Marriage could take place by paying or not paying *śulka;* thus *śulka-strī-dhanā* and *aśulka-strī-dhanā* would be two kinds of wives.

This indicates clearly that Kauṭilya states and comments upon the social conditions of his times.

However, the Dharmaśāstras clearly denounce taking *śulka* or bride-price, though it was a prevalent practice of the society -

(2.5) Discussing the subject of marriage or *vivāha, Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* 1.21.1. says –

Yathāyukto vivāhastathāyuktā prajā bhavati-iti vijñāyate ॥

Then at 1.21.5 it says

Śulkena ye prayacchanti sva-sutām lobhamohitāḥ ।
Ātmavikrayiṇaḥ pāpāḥ mahākilbiṣakārakāḥ ॥
Patanti narake ghore ghnanti ca saptamam kulam ।
Gamana-āgamanam caiva sarvam śulko vidhīyate ॥

Baudhāyana severely denounces *śulka* at 1.21.4 –

Krītā dravyeṇa yā nārī sā na patnī vidhīyate ı
Sā na daive na sā pitrye dāsīm tām kaśyapo'bravīt ıı

The elucidation of the commentary runs thus -

Krītāyā vedoktakarmaṇi-adhikāro na-asti-iti-arthaḥ ı

It is extremely clear that according to the authors of the *Dharmaśāstras*, *śulka* deteriorates the status of a woman and she does not retain the position and rights of a lawfully wedded wife, thus also losing the right of performimg rituals for gods and manes.

(2.6) Thus we see that the practice of offering wealth as a fee to the father of the bride in consideration of marriage, to induce him into it, seems to have been in vogue since ancient times. Even at *Ṛgveda* 1.109.2ab indicates reference to this through the term *vijāmātā*. At *Nirukta* 6.9 Yāska says – *Vijāmātā iti śāśvad dakṣiṇajāḥ krītā-patim-ācakṣate āsu-sampāta iti varo'bhipretaḥ* – the southern people speak of the husband of the bride as being purchased. Here *vijāmātā* means the husband of a woman who is purchased. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 1.10.11 also refers to this custom but simultaneously condemns it (*Ṛtam vai satyam yajño'nṛtam strī anṛtām vā eṣā karoti yā patyuḥ krītā satyathānyaiścarati.....*).

(2.7) Manu also holds such an attitude at 3.51 and 54 respectively –

Na kanyāyāḥ pitā vidvān-gṛhṇītāt-śulkam-aṇurapi ı
Gṛhṇan śulkam hi lobhena syāt-naro'patya-vikrayī ıı

Thus the father of the girl who accepts *śulka* assumes the role of the seller of the children as it symbolises greed.

However, in case the father of the girl accepts *śulka* and gives it away to her it is not the sale of the girl but it is considered to have been given out of love. But Manu, at 3.54, says that even this should not be accepted -

Yāsām na-ādadate śulkam jñātayo na sa vikrayaḥ ı
Arhaṇam tat-kumārīṇām-anṛśaṁsyam na kevalam ıı

However it is interesting to note that Manu justifies *śulka* for Vaisya and Śūdra, not for a Brahmin, at 3.23. But then later at 9.98, he vehemently pronounces that even a Śūdra should not take *śulka* or sell his daughter in marriage. Manu, at 9.61 and

Yājñavalkya at 3.236 list such a sale of children among the *upa-pātakas*. Actually at 3.53-54, Manu condemns even the *ārṣa-vivāha* as being a sale because a pair of cattle (*go-mithuna*) is accepted by the girl's father.

However, it had been a recognised practice to give certain kind of property to a woman on specific occasions in different stages of her life out of love which formed her *strīdhana*. Manu refers to its six types at 9.194 and Yājñavalkya at 2.143-144 as being given by her father, mother, husband, brother, before the nuptial fire and others including *śulka* and those given later out of love.

Household utensils beasts of burden, milche cattle and others could come under *śulka* too and form *strīdhana*.

(2.8) *Āpastamba Smṛti* 9.25 gives a degrading status – most terrifying hell to one who incurs such a contemptuous act –

> *Alpenāpi hi śulkena pitā kanyām dadāti yaḥ* ।
> *Raurave bahuvarṣāṇi purīṣam mūtramaśnute* ।।

(2.9) In Jaina literature the word occurs as *śuṅka* and held the same connotations. As far as the second connotation, that is, marriage is concerned, marriages by purchase were in vogue and wife could be obtained for money paid to her father's family by the groom or his father. Jagdishchandra Jain gives several illustrations of this practice from several Jain texts (pp. 207-208).

III) A Summary of the Above –

Based on this twofold connotation the points that emerge are -

1) Śulka in State Economy is –

(a) the custom duty or road can toll tax

(b) on merchandise on entry/exit

(c) by road and water

(d) levied in accordance with the prices of the merchandise,

(e) Fine/penalty was calculated in failure of their payment.

(f) It formed an important source of revenue to the state.

(g) In return of this payment the traders were to be protected by the king.

(h) In times of calamity the rate of the duty could be increased to increase the revenue.

2) At the primary stage *śulka* in Socio-legal context

(a) is the bride-price

(b) to be paid by the groom or his father to the girl's father while settling the marriage.

(c) It can be taken by the woman's relatives.

(d) At the next stage, it is the nuptial gift from the husband and his family which becomes solely the woman's property as *strīdhana* when transferred to her by her father.

(e) It is unanimously condemned as it meant sale and purchase of children/ human beings. Such a wife has no right to accompany the husband in religious ceremonies.

(f) However, the custom did persist with man having right on *śulka* at either stage.

(g) Hence as a *niṣedha* and as a psychologically deterring factor to prevent or at least minimise the occurrence of custom, the authors of *Dharmaśāstras* pronounced in extremely strong words that the progeny born out of the wedlock based on *śulka* is similar to the conditions of marriage, that is, degraded.

Thus, to beget good progeny and future generations the marriage had to follow righteous norms.

Besides this negative impact, sale/purchase of girl as a bride lowers human dignity - of the girl sold/purchased and also of the previous wife/wives in the polygamous society.

(IV) Especially in the case of a royal family, it may complicate the issue of succession, and thus affect not only the royal family, but also the stability of the kingdom. Most important point is that it led to the encouragement of the fulfilment of lust as an instinct, that is, *kāma-pūrti* as against the practice of *rājadharma* as laid down in the tradition.

(V) **The Epics** project this socio-legal issue through their interesting narration of their respective stories where it assumes socio-political form.

(5.1) The concept of *śulka* and its far-reaching consequences appear in the *Mahābhārata* around Satyavatī. She enters the household of the Kurus in the 94th *adhyāya* of the *Ādīparva* (*Mahābhārata* I). After Gaṅgā leaves Śāntanu leaving their eighth son Devavrāta with him, after which he is consecrated as the Crown Prince (1.94.38). At this stage Śāntanu is attracted towards a beautiful young lady of the *Dāsa* community engaged in the profession of navigating passengers across the Yamunā. Overpowered by *kāma* he desired to have her as his wife. Her father, the king of the *dāsas*, lays down a condition or *samaya* for it (*Ibid.* 49), namely, –

Asyām jāyeta yaḥ putraḥ sa rājā pṛthivīpatiḥ ।
Tadūrdhvamabhiṣektavyo nānyaḥ kaścana pārthiva ॥

that is, - The son born of his daughter should be the king and none else – no other son.

The *Mahābhārata* then describes the effects of lust – *kāma* on Śāntanu though he is aware of the unfairness of the demand. When the Crown Prince Devavrāta comes to know about this, he agrees to this condition and vows to follow celibacy so that the new mother's son could be without *sapatna* – a rival to the throne! (*Ibid* 69-76, 86).

Then what happens is too well-known to be reiterated here.

On the other hand, Draupadī can be called *vīryaśulkā* as she is to be married to the one who fulfils the condition of stringing the bow and fixing the arrow on it to pierce the target –

Idam sajjam dhanuḥ kṛtvā sajjenānena sāyakaiḥ ।
Atītya lakṣyam yo vėddhā sa labdhā matsutāmiti ॥ (1.176.11).

(5.2) Before we go on to *Rāmāyaṇa*, a point may be noted from the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as well with reference to the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Rukmiṇī. At 10.49.17 it is said that the Lord married Rukmiṇī by *rākṣasa vivāha* –

Bhagavān bhīṣmakasutāṁ rukmiṇīṁ rucirānanām ।
Rākṣaseṇa vidhānena upayema iti śrutam ॥

After this follows the narration of the incident that led to it. In the letter which Rukmiṇī sends to the Lord to Dvārikā, she requests Him to come to Kuṇḍinapura and abduct her in the presence of the assemblage of the kings who have been invited to witness her wedding with Śiśupāla, as she is *vīrya-śulkā* –

Svo-bhāvini tvamajitodvahane vidarbhān
guptāḥ sametya pṛtanāpatibhiḥ parītāḥ ।
Nirmathya caidyamagadhendra-balam prasahya
māṁ rākṣaseṇa vidhinodvaha vīryaśulkām ॥ (10.49.40 – Critical Edition)

that is, "On the occasion of the marriage ceremony arranged for tomorrow, deign to present Thyself incognito at Vidarbha, and surrounded by Thy generals defeating the armies of the kings of Chedi and Magadha, capture and marry me by force according to the *Rākṣasa* rite, the bridal money paid on the occasion being Thy might."

(5.3) However, the most glaring illustration of this with immediate consequences occurs in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. While Sītā is always referred to as being won over by Rāma by his valour/prowess, a condition made by Janaka for her marriage = *vīrya-śulkā* (*Bālakāṇḍa* 62.14), we see that as far as its consequences are concerned the word *śulka* occurs only once - in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 99.3 as *rājya-śulka* a condition for marriage by Kaikeyī's father, followed by *varam* or boon by Daśaratha in the next verse with reference to Kaikeyī which forms the heart, the integral part of *Rāmāyaṇa.*

It is this theme of kingship associated with the occasional social custom that turns into a socio-political issue here. Hence the hereditary transfer of kingship against the inter-state marriage based on *śulka* or condition of such a marriage becomes a catalyst behind the epic story.

The term occurs when Bharata meets Rāma at Pañcavaṭī pleading him to return and take up the reins of the kingdom which was his birth-right; whereas Rāma declines it on the basis of the following arguments (99.3-10)-

Purā bhrātaḥ pitā naḥ sa mātaram te samudvahan ।
Mātāmahe samāśrauṣīdrājyaśulkamanuttamam ॥

Devāsure ca saṅgrāme jananyai tava pārthivaḥ ।
Samprahṛṣṭo dadau rājā varamārādhitaḥ prabhuḥ ।।

and so, -

Tataḥ sa sampratiśrāvya tava mātā yaśasvinī ।
Ayācata naraśreṣṭham dvau varau varavarṇinī ।।
Tava rājyam naravyāghra mama pravrajanam tathā ।
Tacca rājā tathā tasyai niyuktaḥ pradadau varam ।।
Tena pitrāhamapyatra niyuktaḥ puruṣarṣabha ।
Caturdaśa vane vāsam varṣāṇi varadānikam ।।
So'ham vanamidam prāpto nirjanam lakṣmaṇānvitaḥ ।
Sītayā cāpratidvandvaḥ satyavāde sthitaḥ pituḥ ।।
Bhavānapi tathetyeva pitaram satyavādinam ।
Kartumarhati rājendram kṣiprameväbhiṣecanāt ।।
Ṛṇānmocaya rājānam matkṛte bharata prabhum ।
Pitaram trāhi dharmajña mātaram cābhinandaya ।।

This implies that

(a) Daśaratha had married Kaikeyī promising her father *rājyaśulka* – the ultimate price that her son would succeed him as the king.

(b) In addition during the war between gods and demons while Daśaratha was helping the former, Kaikeyī happened to help out her husband at a critical moment. The king gave her a boon at the time. Kaikeyī used, or rather, cheated the king by utilising this boon to send Rāma to exile for fourteen years as well as reminded the king of his *rājya-śulka* pledge ! Rāma is now in the forest, giving up his birth-right to the throne as per the family tradition (where prevailed the law of primogeniture) in order to fulfil his father's pledge of truth at two levels. Bharata should also follow his suit. It will free their father of his debt.

(c) On the other hand we find Bharata to be equally righteous and announces that he himself had not asked for kingship nor had asked his mother any instructions to the present effect. He, moreover, insists on being in exile and Rāma taking up the reins of the kingdom; thereby he nullifies Daśaratha's pledge of *rājyaśulka* and yet fulfils the boon given to Kaikeyī.

(d) In fact this acts as a counterfoil to what Kaikeyī has done. But then this deadlock is solved by Rāma's balanced mind – that would satisfy both the demands of Kaikeyī and prove his father truthful – he shall return to Ayodhyā at the end of fourteen years (97.23) to accept kingship and till that period Bharata must rule the kingdom as his regent (97.22).

(e) Here we find consequences of practising the concept of *śulka.* Rāma himself says that to marry Kaikeyī, Daśaratha was overpowered by *kāma*; 'Reflecting on the calamity and how the king has so utterly changed his mind, I have come to the conclusion that the urgings of desire far outweigh both statecraft and righteousness.

Idam vyasanam-ālokya rājñaśca mativibhramam ।
Kāma eva – arthadharmābhyām garīyāniti me matiḥ ॥ (47.9)

He further says, "Whoever forsakes righteousness and statecraft and follows the urgings of desire will soon come to grief, just like King Daśaratha -

Arthadharmau parityajya yaḥ kāmamanuvartate ।
Evamāpadyate kṣipram rājā daśaratho yathā ॥ (47.13).

(f) This apart, in daily life, we find Vālmīki referring to what is not much known, namely, the condition of the chief queen Kausalyā and other queens by this marriage. We see Kausalyā as being superseded by Kaikeyī and hence not leading a pleasant life (20.27, 29, 30, 32; 12.70), leading a life of religious austerities for years (28.7) wishing and praying for the exercise of the law of primogeniture coming into effect as was customary in the Raghu dynasty (4.38-39). With the demand of *śulka,* she recedes into background again. Rāma is aware of this due to which while in the exile he advises Lakṣmaṇa to return to Ayodhyā lest their mothers are continued to be harassed by Kaikeyī (47.15, 16, 18). Hence Daśaratha had to plan the coronation to square up the tangle he had created in the political and social life of Ayodhyā and Kausalyā.

Thus, the consequences of the practice of the concept of *śulka* are terrible and far-reaching, especially when it arises out of *kāma* coupled with greed, inviting calamity for the family and the kingdom.

(g) Incidentally the view of Mādhavayogī in his *Amṛtakataka* commentary in the footnote on AY 107.3 is interesting. He explains the situation thus - Daśaratha married Sumitrā and then Kaikeyī as both one after the other could not bear him a son. However, when, Kausalyā bore Rāma as the eldest son, the promise of *śulka* was automatically nullified, a situation which Kaikeyī accepted; hence she did not demand her right –

> *Kaikeyīvivāhasya narmavivāhatvam na svarasam* । *Kintu kausalyāyām aprāptaputrasya daśarathasya putrārthameva sumitrāvivāhaḥ* । *Tasyāmapi putrādarśanāt kaikeyīvivāhaḥ* । *Tadā ca, kaikeyīvivāhanantaram yadi daivāt kausalyāsumitrayoḥ putrotpattim saṅkāmanena kaikeyīpitrā kaikeyīputrāya rājyaśulkam prārthitam* । *Parantu kaikeyyāmapi putro na jāta eva* । .... *Evañca yathā manīṣitam kaikeyyām putra-lābhāt, putrakāmeṣṭyā putraprāpteḥ mahiṣītrayasādhāraṇyāt kaikeyīvivāhakālikī śulkapratijñā svayam durbalā jātā-eva* । *Ata eva kaikeyī na tat smāritavatī-iti jñayate* ॥

However, the concept of *śulka* conveys the dangers that go with it especially for the king as he formed the central position in the communal and social life. Whatever may be the case, the concept of *śulka* levelling woman to the status of being a commodity of sale and purchase lead to deadly consequences socially, politically and individually as they violate human rights. From this point of view, Rāma's strict monogamous belief stands out as a sharp contrast to all the known instances.

(VI) In modern times activists are raising their voices against violence against women. Social and Human Sciences review violence in general as a coercive mechanism to assert one's will over another to feel/prove the sense of power. This leads to the relation of domination-subordination and hence coercion by not only overt means, but also through subtle pressure through the power of ideology, internalised social norms and social sanctions penalizing non-compliance. Dowry and bride-price are the social evils that fall under this field; the former at present is payable by the bride's parents and the latter by the groom/his parents. Thus dowry commodifies the groom, while the bride-price commodifies the bride. Hence very rightly the tradition has used the term *śulka* from State Economy for this social issue, where the king being the controller, he fixes the price of the commodity and gets a portion of it against protection of the trader. In the social custom, the father of the bride fixes the price and gets it for himself or his family.

It would be worth-noting that in the case of bride-price this situation occurs when the prospective bride is a productive asset in the father's family and with the marriage, it is transferred to the groom, and so now there is a price for her. Alternatively, being an unproductive asset, she is a liability and hence the transaction. However, the bride has no say or share in this transaction. In any case this encashment glaringly shows social superiority of the fatherly figure.

The analysis of the Epics above certainly reveals coercion in the case of Kausalyā by Kaikeyī. Mantharā's note of caution of the shift of power by Rāma's coronation drives Kaikeyī to exercise her demand for the *śulka* and the boon which were promised by Daśaratha in full awareness, - whether it be out of *kāma* or need for an heir.

Hence the questions - Is Kaikeyī wrong in her demand, is the *śulka* asked for this young princess for her marriage with the elderly and a much-married king Daśaratha as well as Satyavatī's marriage with the old king Śāntanu – both old men and hence incompatible, unpalatable matches, - need attention as both could be called instances of matrimonial coercion. Though the former marriage may have been a politically motivated matrimonial alliance to an extent (which is never indicated by Vālmīki), the latter was certainly not.

In both the cases, while the kings managed to fulfil their desire, the 'price' in reality was paid by their sons !

The reason that could be offered in my opinion **is human psyche and desire** over-riding their *Rājadharma* of achieving the ultimate welfare of the States ruled by them and their polygamous families whose welfare benefit is also put at stake.

However, the condition of the woman in one way or the other certainly appears to have been commodified.

Thus we have seen that *śulka* is –

a) The 'price' set and taken by the father of the bride is transferred to her out of love for her security, is a condition.

b) The quality in the form of *vīrya* or prowess is laid with the intention of securing a worthy groom.

c) It forms a part of the woman's *strīdhana* – her property the use of which is her sole right.

However, in this light, the term *śulka* cannot be referred to as 'bride-price', but merely as a condition for marriage laid down by the father of the daughter for her and her child's future security in the polygamous household showing his affection and concern for her. Moreover, since it became her independent right and property – *strīdhana,* demand for its implementation in the case of *Rāmāyaṇa* made Daśaratha powerless.

Hence the consistent translation of the word *śulka* as 'bride-price' is erroneous and needs to be rectified in such cases.

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COMPOUNDING FROM HISTORICAL VIEWPOINT

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Compounding is one of the important characteristics of the Sanskrit language. From *Padapāṭha* (PP) upto Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (including *Prātiśākhya*-s and also other grammatical traditions) all grammatical activities and grammarians have contributed to the theorotization and thereby explanations of compounds and compounding.

The *Padapāṭha* and *Prātiśākhya*-s about compounding-

The PPs aim at giving the analysis of the *Saṁhitā* into *pada*. The important criteria for *pada* is P.6.1.158 *anudāttaṁ padam ekavarjam.*

The grammatical sub-categories such as *subanta* (inflected nominal form), *tiṅanta* (inflected verbal form), *kṛdanta* (verbal derivative), *taddhita* (nominal derivative), *samāsa* (compound), *avyaya* (indeclinables), are not much important as far as PP is concerned. The *pada* has recitational value, i.e. a small pause to distinguish one *pada* from the subsequent one, matters much. A still smaller pause inside *pada* is also important which is directly related to the compound. In the Ṛv PP two constituents of the compound are shown by smaller pause in recitation and with *avagraha* 'ऽ' sign in the written text;

। ग॒तऽअं॑सुम् । Ṛv 10.18.8
। त्रि॒ऽयु॒गम् । Ṛv 10.87.1
। दे॒वऽहू॑तिषु । Ṛv 7.83.7

Eventhough the *pada* is formed with more than two constituents, the Ṛv PP inserts only one *avagraha* (i.e. pause) and not as per the internal constituents of the *pada* e.g.

। अ॒न॒व॒भ्रऽरा॑धसः । Ṛv 1.166.7, 2.34.4
। अ॒न॒व॒द्यऽरू॑पाः । Ṛv 10.68.3

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The *nañ* is not separated here.

Here is one more example-
। स॒र्पिःऽआ॑सुतिः । Ṛv 2.7.6; 10.69.2

The PP puts the *avagraha* after *sarpiḥ* only. However when the word *āsuti* occurs separately the *avagraha* is put after *ā* e.g. आ॒ऽसु॒तिः । Ṛv 8.1.26.

It goes without saying that the PP split is 'recitation-friendly'. More than two internal smaller pauses would have become bit clumsy and also it is likely to create confusion.

The time duration of this pause is one *mātrā* according to the Ṛv *Prātiśākhya*[1]

For Ṛv *Prātiśākhya* the compound is just *iṅgya pada* i.e. subject to split.[2] A pause between the two constituents does result into dissolving the *sandhi*.

E.g. । प॒र्ण॒वीःऽइ॑व । Ṛv 9.3.1.
। द॒श॒ऽअ॒ङ्गु॒लम् । Ṛv 10.90.1.
। श॒श्व॑त्ऽशश्वत् । Ṛv 3.36.1.

Thus the Ṛv *Prātiśākhya* treatment to the compounding is phonetics-oriented. Accordingly the grammar and semantics of the compound has no scope. However a point to be noted is that it is not only the compounds that are split like this but also other constituents which are justified by Pāṇini's extended definition of *pada* (P.1.4.15-1.4.17)

Coming to T.S. PP. we find the device of adding *iti* to the compounds. The most important point is what follows after *iti* is a split of the constituents with small pause.

E.g. । प्रत्यु॑ष्टा॒ इति॒ प्रति॑-उष्टाः । TS 1.1.4.
। हिर॑ण्यपाणि॒रिति॒ हिर॑ण्य-पा॒णि॒ः । TS 1.1.5.
। यजु॑षेयजुष॒ इति॒ यजु॑षे-य॒जु॒षे॒ । TS 1.1.10.

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[1] तावदवग्रहान्तरम् । ऋ.प्रा. 1.28/P.66.

[2] The *Ṛv Prātiśākhya* does not define the term. However Ṛv Pr. 1.102 mentions *pada prayantaḥ* as *iṅgya*. The commentator says, इङ्ग्यशब्देन सावग्रहं पदमुच्यते । P. 121.

The compounds occurring in the PP of the TS are comparatively very small and uncomplicated. Rarely we find compounds with many constituents. However a pause occurs only once and not after each constituents.

। अद॑ब्धव्रतप्रमति॒रित्यद॑ब्धव्रत-प्र॒म॒ति॒ः । TS 3.5.11, 4.1.3. The PP does not indicate the internal constituents such as *ádabdha-vrata* and *pra-mati* of *pramati.*

There are few cases where the word is repeated after *iti* but the internal constituents are not indicated with *pause.*

E.g. । द॒र्श॒पू॒र्ण॒मा॒स॒या॒जीति॑ दर्शपूर्णमास-या॒जी । TS 2.2.2, 5.5.6.

। द॒र्श॒पू॒र्ण॒मा॒सयो॒रिति॑ दर्शपू॒र्ण॒मा॒सयो॑ः । TS 1.6.9.

It seems that in case of the compounds having more than two constituents, a pause is inserted before last but one constituent. E.g. । आ॒ख॒रे॒ष्ठ इत्या॑ख॒रे॒-स्थः । TS 1.1.11.

There is no pause between आ-खरे. In this PP also the types and sub-types of the compounds matter least. The interrelation between the constituents also does not matter. What matters is a pause between two constituents of the compound.

For *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* any *pada,* that is subject to small internal pause in oral recitation is *iṅgya.*[3] The first part of the *iṅgya* is called *avagraha.*[4] The *avagraha* type of *pada* has its own special PP operations e.g. it is not *pragraha* and hence not subject to *itikaraṇa.*

The *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* (VP) does not add anything special to the compounding in the PP, than a phonetic observation that a retroflection in a second constituent of the compound, caused by the cause in the first constituent, is removed in the PP when a compound is repeated after *iti* and a small pause is inserted between two constituents.

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[3] इङ्ग्यमिति विभागवत्पदस्य संज्ञा । इङ्ग्यते विभागेन चाल्यते इति इङ्ग्यम् । *Vaidikābharaṇa* on TP.1.48 p.49.

[4] तस्य पूर्वपदमवग्रहः । TP.1.49.

Same is the case of other phonetic modifications.[5] Thus it seems that VP has given elaborate treatment to the phonetic modifications such as *ṣatva, ṇatva,* shortening, change in *visarga,* that take place in the process of compounding.

The *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (VS) tradition has very peculiar way of treating the compounds in the PP.

E.g. । वि॒श्व॒ज॒नस्येति॑विश्व ज॒नस्य॑ । VS.5.28.
। ह॒व्य॒सूद॑न॒ऽइति॑हव्य॒ सूद॑नः । VS.5.32.
। दे॒व॒यान॒ इति॑देव॒ याने॑ । VS.5.33.

A compound is followed by *iti* in the PP which is further followed by first constituent of the compound. With this the *pada* ends. The second constituent of the compound is treated as the subsequent separate *pada.* Of course there is not a small pause between the two constituents of the compound, but a regular recognizable one after each *pada.*

This *Vājasaneyī* PP splits *yajñapati* as । य॒ज्ञप॑ति॒मिति॑य॒ज्ञ प॑तिम् । VS.5.38. However the compound *adhvapate* is not split like that. Instead it is । अ॒ध्व॒प॒त॒ इत्य॑ध्वपते । VS.5.33.

Here is an example of a compound having more than two constituents- । अप्र॑तिधृष्टशवस॒मित्यप्र॑तिधृष्ट शवसम् । VS. 8.35. The entire compound is treated as one *pada* even after being repeated after *iti.* It is to be noted that the printed edition of the PP shows a space between *dhṛṣṭa* and *śavasam.* Similar instance is । वि॒श्वक॒र्म्मेति॑वि॒श्व क॑र्म्मा । VS. 13.45.

The VP (1.48) calls the pause as *avagraha* and describes its time duration as that of a short vowel.[6] The commentator on the text says that 'यत्र द्वित्र्यादिपदसमूहोच्चारणं स समासः ।'[7] I would like to call this definition as the 'articulatary definition of the compounds,' for which a pause having one *mātrā* duration matters much.

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[5] अनितावन्तर्विकारागमं प्रागुक्त्वा । VP.4.23.

Tr. A *pada* in the PP should be repeated after *iti*, However before repeating, it should be quoted along with the internal phonetic modifications, which are prescribed in the 3rd *adhyāya* after the rule अनितावध्याये । VP. 3.19.

[6] समसेऽवग्रहो ह्रस्वसमकालः । *Śuklayajurveda Prātiśākhya*. P. 335.

[7] *ibid.*

What is important for the PP and *Prātiśākhya-s* is a compound one *pada* with one accent (of course with few exceptions). For the *Prātiśākhyā-s pada* is the *prakṛti*,[8] hence in order to make different combinations of the *pada*, whether given expression is one *pada* or not is their prime concern. For the PP entire compound is one *pada*, because it is followed and preceded by a small pause. From view point of the PP a compound is one of the splittable *pada*-s. The two constituents of compound are separated with a pause.

In other words PP and *Prātiśākhya* treatment is 'silent', focusing on the pause between two constituents. A study of all PPs and that of the respective Prs from view point of compounding is awaited.

The following observation can be recorded about the compound treated by the *Vājasaneyī* PP tradition- A compound in the *Saṁhitā* is repeated by adding *iti* to it. When it is a compound of two constituents then, only one is retained with *iti*. Here ends the *pada* boundary. The remaining constituent is separate *pada*. Though these two constituents are separated by the *pada* boundary the accent of the previous one does affect the subsequent one.

A compound having more than two constituents is not broken with the *pada* boundary. A small space is inserted internally between the last but one and the last constituent.

The interrelation of the constituents, a type of the compound and a role of the compound in the given sentence etc. has no space at all in the PP tradition.

Yāska about compounding-

There are very few compounds is the *Nighaṇṭu*, mostly they occur in the fifth *adhyāya* of the *Nighaṇṭu* that collects the names of the deities such as *dyāvāpṛthivī* (*Nighaṇṭu* 5.31), *ulūkhalamusale* (*Nighaṇṭu* 5.29) etc. However Yāska has not commented on it. Yāska (6th century B.C.) is concerned with the *nirvacana*. He is quite aware that though a compounded expression राजपुरुष: is one *pada*, it should not be from the view point of the *nirvacana.* The *pravibhāga* (a split) is essential in order to make the *nirvacana* of the given compounded expression.[9] Yāska discusses the examples: *rājapuruṣaḥ; viścakadrākarṣaḥ* and *kalyāṇavarṇarūpaḥ,* for *ekaparvan* and *aneka-parvan* compounds.

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[8] पदप्रकृतीनि सर्वचरणानां पार्षदानि । *Nirukta* 1.16 P. 99/8.

According to him *rājapuruṣaḥ* is *ekaparvan* compound i.e. having one *parvan* i.e. joint of two constituents. i.e. *rājan* and *puruṣa.* Thus he gives the *nirvacana*-s of the two sequentially. For *viścakadrākarṣaḥ*[10] he first splits as '*vīti cakadra iti*' and then gives the *nirvacana* of *cakadra.* Finally connects *vi* with it giving the *taddhita* type of analysis. He does not give explanation of *ākarṣa* and complete meaning of the term. It seems that for him it is a compound of two constituents *viz. viścakadra* and *ākarṣa.* For the compound *kalyāṇavarṇarūpaḥ,* he gives the *nirvacana*-s of *kalyāṇa, varṇa* and *rūpa* separately.[11] Yāska being *niruktakāra,* each separate *pada* i.e. constituent is important for him. Their interrelationship in the compound, or integrated meaning communicated by them is not at all his concern. For him a compound is as if a 'device' of joining two meanings or more than two meanings.

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[9] अथ तद्धितसमासेषु एकपर्वसु चानेकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वमपरमपरं प्रविभज्य निर्ब्रूयात्। निरुक्त २.२ P. 128/4-5

Tr. In case of the nominal derivatives and the compounds, having one joint or more than one joints, one should give a *nirvacana* by splitting it into former and latter ones sequentially.

[10] वीति चकद्र इति श्वगतौ भाष्यते । द्रातीति गतिकुत्सना । कद्रातीति द्रातिकुत्सना । चकद्राति कद्रातीति सतोऽनर्थकोऽभ्यासः । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति विश्चकद्रः । निरुक्त 2.3 P. 136/3-6.

Tr. *Vi* and *cakadra* are colloquially used to describe the movements of a dog. The root *drā* means condemned movement. The root *Kadrā* means condemn of the condemned movement. *Cakadra* is the reduplicative base of the root *kadrā* itself, without any special meaning. With the possessive sense a form is *viścakadrākarṣaḥ.*

[11] कल्याणवर्णरूपः कल्याणवर्णस्येवास्य रूपम्। कल्याणं कमनीयं भवति। वर्णो वृणोतेः। रूपं रोचतेः। निरुक्त 2.3, P. 136/6-8.

Tr. *kalyāṇavarṇarūpa* means one having the beauty like that of *kalyāṇavarṇa. kalyāṇa* means very much desired. The word *varṇa* is from the root *vṛ* and the word *rūpa* is from the root *ruc.*

However his commentator Durga interprets *ekaparvan* and *anekaparvan* as having one constituent and having more than one constituents. He exemplifies the *ekaparvan* compound as *pitarau,* which basically is the compound of *mātā* and *pitā* (*mātāpitarau*), where only one i.e. a form of a word *pitṛ* remains, which implies that other one is deleted.[12]

Durga quotes the text *Bṛhaddevatā*, giving six types of compounds.

> द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वोऽव्ययीभावः कर्मधारय एव च।
> पञ्चमस्तु बहुव्रीहिः षष्ठस्तत्पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥ *Bṛhaddevatā* 2.107[13]

The *Bṛhaddevatā* approach to compounding is very simple and uncomplicated and also just enumerative.

This is to be noted that even *Bṛhaddevatā* does not enumerate *ekaśeṣa* as the compound.

Pāṇini about compounding-

Pāṇini has treated this topic of compounding in following contexts.

A) *padavidhi* context:

P. 2. 1. 3 - P 2.2.29 deal with the formation of the compound. *sup supā* [14] is the super model which is further specified by the rules belonging to this group. Accordingly a *subanta* (i.e. *pada*) along with another *subanta* (i.e. *pada*) itself forms compounding. i.e. *samāsaḥ* (P. 2.1.3). Therefore it is *padavidhi.* A condition laid down for this *padavidhi* is *sāmarthya.*[15] This condition deals with the minimum essential semantic condition. The entire section can be summarized in following points -

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12 एकशेषः एकपदसमासः। सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इति। Durga on निरुक्त 2.2, P. 133/12.

13 ibd P. 133/15-16.

14 *sup* is availed from P 2.1.2 सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे। ON THE BASIS OF *ANUVṚTTI* IN THE RULE P 2.1.4 सह सुपा।

15 P 2.1.1 समर्थः पदविधिः।

The rules here give the details about the first *sup* or the last *sup*, and the meaning condition for either of them or for the entire formation.[16]

To describe the first *sup* Pāṇini has used nominative, for the *supā*, the instrumental and for the meaning condition locative.

The rules P. 2.1.30 - P. 2.1.38 deal with the placement of the constituents in the compound. While framing the rule for the compound he has used nominative and instrumental forms. One which is in nominative is called *upasarjana*. Such *upasarjana* occupies the first position in the compound.[17] The subsequent rules just give the exceptions or specifications in case of *dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi*, where this *upasarjana* technique is of no use.

For categorization of the compound Pāṇini has used *adhikāra* technique than the definitions.

E.g. P. 2.1.5 अव्ययीभावः । which means following compounds (upto P. 2.1.21) are *avyayībhāva*.

P. 2.1.22 तत्पुरुषः । which means following compounds (i.e. upto P. 2.2.23) are called *tatpuruṣa*. The subsequent rule P. 2.1.23 द्विगुश्च । extends the technical term *tatpuruṣa* upto *dvigu* also.

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[16] E.G. P 2.1.7 यथाऽसादृश्ये । The locative *asādṛśye* (non-similarity) is the meaning condition for *yathā* i.e. the first *sup*.

P 2.2.1. पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । The locative *ekādhikaraṇe* (one integrated unit) is the meaning condition for *supā* i.e. second constituent.

P 2.1.43 कृत्यैर्ऋणे । The locative *ṛṇe* (debt) is the meaning condition for the complete formation.

[17] P 1.2.43 प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ।

Tr. In the section dealing with the compound that which is mentioned in the nominative is called *upasarjana*.

P 2.1.30 उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ।

Tr. The *upasarjana* is placed initially.

After specifying the '*sup + supā*' formations under these two main categories viz. *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa*. Pāṇini lables all remaining '*sup+supā*' formations with *bahuvrīhi*.[18]

The semantic characteristic of the *Bahuvrīhi* - which in fact is the remnant of *sup+supā* - is P 2.3.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*. Further he segregates a group of formations that aims at *ca-artha*, which is a subgroup of *anyapadārtha*. This is *dvandva* compound.[19]

Thus P looks at the compounds from view point of *padavidhi* i.e. *sup + supā*. The three major classes of the *sup + supā padavidhi* are *avyayībhāva, tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi*. For first two P has used the *adhikāra* technique which just dectates that following are such and such compounds, irrespective of meaning, syntactic function (i.e. adjective, adverb etc.) etc.

The *avyayībhāva* compounds are grammatically indeclinable.[20] Therefore the compounds such as *kṛṣṇagaṅgam, śanairgaṅgam* are *avyayībhāva* irrespective of their being *anyapadārthe*.[21] The *tatpuruṣa* compounds such as *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*[22] and *svāduṁkāram*[23] are *anyapadārthe* and *avyaya* (indeclinable) respectively. However P has brought them under the class *tatpuruṣa* because according to him the compounding has another aspect.

B) Accentuation-

The section - P 6.1.223 - P 6.2.199 deals with accentuation. Whether the first constituent retains the accent or the second, is discussed in the context of *bahuvrīhi*, *tatpuruṣa* and *dvandva*. Therefore it is the accentuation that determines whether the given compound is *tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi*.[24]

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[18] P 2.2.23 शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ।

Tr. Many (*subanta*-s) meaning other than their own are a compound which is *Bahuvrīhi*.

[19] P 2.3.25 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*.

[20] P 1.1.41 अव्ययीभावश्च ।

[21] P 2.1.21 अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ।

[22] P 2.2.17 नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ।

[23] P 2.2.20 अमैवाव्ययेन ।

[24] MBh Vol. I, P. 2/2.

A comparative study of the section that prescribes formation of the compounding (P 2.1.3-P 2.2.29) and the one that prescribes the accentuation reveals the fact that there are few rules of accentuation, the examples of which are very difficult to be accounted for by either of formation rules.

e.g. P 6.2.6 prescribes that the first constituent meaning something obstructed of the *tatpuruṣa* compound, retains its accent when the second constituent is either a word *cira* or a word *kṛcchra.*[25] However a form thus formed *gámanaciram* can hardly be justified by any rule from compound forming section except the provision P 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṁsakādayaśca.*

Another example is the form *prāntáḥ*, accented on the last syllable by P 6.2.180.[26] There is no precise rule justifying its formation. Even *Kāśikā* remarks '*bahuvrīhirayaṁ prādisamāso vā*'.[27]

C) A usable form of a compound-

The *samāsānta* suffixation and the deletion or non-deletion of the case ending are concerned with the actual usable form of the compound. P 5.4.68 - P 5.4.160 deal with the suffixes that are added to the compound after the process of the compounding is over.[28]

P 6.3.1 - P 6.3.24 specifies when a case-ending of the first constituent is retained against the general rule P 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* e.g. *alpānmuktaḥ,* here ablative case-ending is not deleted.[29] The subsequent rules in this section deal with the phonetic changes in the first constituent such as *ānaṅ* substitution (e.g.

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[25] P 6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ।

[26] P 6.2.180 अन्तश्च ।

[27] *Kāśikā* on P 6.2.180, Hyderabad, Ed. Vol. II, P. 695.

[28] E.g. P 5.4.107 अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । gives the form *upaśaradam.*

[29] P 6.3.2 पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ।

hotāpotārau)[30], shortening (e.g. *brāhmaṇigotrā)*[31], *ā*-substitute, *mum*-augment and some special morphemic substitutes such as *sa* for *saha etc.*

P has given *prātipadika* status to the compound by extending the definition of the *prātipadika* (P 1.2.45-46) which facilitates further suffixation to the compound.
e.g. *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ.* The *prātipadikatva* of the *rājapuruṣa* facilitates all declensions for it as well as the forms like *rājapuruṣāyate* etc.

Except few rules the *samāsa-adhikāra* is governed by P 2.2.1 *vibhāṣā.* This means he accepts compound as an alternative to the sentence.

The rule P 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṁsakādayaḥ* needs some special considerations. Apart from the question whether it originally belongs to P or not, it is important because it covers several such compounds that might have been current in the language then, but could hardly be theorized, on the background of his assumptions about the compounding.

This rule P 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṁsakādayaśca* and the super model of compounding *sup supā* made the entire framing of compounding accommodative so much so that it can justify any newly adopted compound in the language.

Kātyāyana about compounding-

Coming to Kātyāyana following observations can be submitted.

Through the *upasaṅkhyāna* (vtts) Kātyāyana extended a scope of a rule so to cover additional examples, which otherwise would have been left unaccounted for.
e.g. vtt 1 on P 2.1.24[32] is *śritādiṣu gamyādīnām upasaṁkhyānam.* This allows the compounding such as *grāmagamī* or *odanabubhukṣuḥ.*

Kātyāyana did not creat new category so to account for some newly entered compounds such as *dadhyodanaḥ* (in the sense *dadhyupasiktaḥ odanaḥ*)[33] etc. where a word or *subanta* '*upasiktaḥ*' is dropped, although the meaning remains. Kātyāyana suggests that this is basically *samānādhikaraṇa* compound *dadhyupasiktaḥ odanaḥ,* where the first constituent is formed with past passive participle holding instrumental relation with the previous constituent.[34] This past passive participle is further deleted. Through this Kātyāyana has tried to establish *sāmarthya* between a compound and an uncompounded expression.

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[30] P 6.3.25 आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे।

[31] P 6.3.43 घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ।

[32] P 2.1.24 द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ।

[33] Tr. Rice flavoured with curd.

Kātyāyana also adds some supplementary notes to the rule. e.g. *ivena vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca vtt* 2 on P 2.1.4 in order to account for one *padatva* of the expressions like *vāsasī iva* in the *padapāṭha*.

When Kātyāyana records *arthena nityasamāsavacanam, sarvaliṅgatā ca,* he certainly wants to stress the adjectival use of the *tatpuruṣa* compound.[35]

The Saunāga *vtts* reffered to by Patañjali[36] do not add any new category to P's framework of compounding.

Almost two hundred years after P it is likely that the language might have accommodated the compounds which can hardly be justified by P's framework as it is. Through suggesting some extentions, restrictions or modifications to the existing one Kātyāyana accounted for all such occurrences. However he did not suggest any new or different type of the compound. His stress is on establishing *sāmarthya* between the compound and the corresponding uncompounded expression.

Patañjali about compounding -

Apart from extending the scope in the manner adopted by Kātyāyana, Patañjali suggested different theory for compounding:

Patañjali redefines the four categories on the basis of meaning. Accordingly a compound in which a meaning of a first constituent is dominant is *avyayībhāva.* One in which the second constituent is semantically dominant is *tatpuruṣa.* One of which the communicated meaning belongs to the entity other than the actual constituents, is

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[34] Vtt 4 on P 2.1.34-35 सिद्धं तु समानाधिकरणे क्तः तृतीयापूर्वपद-उत्तरपदलोपश्च । Vtt5 on the same षष्ठीसमासश्च युक्तपूर्णान्तः ।

[35] Vtts no 4 and 5 on P 2.1.36.

[36] MBh on P 2.2.18, Vol. I, P. 416/15-417/2

bahuvrīhi. A compound in which both constituents are semantically equal is *dvandva.*[37] Patañjali is more interested in meaning connoting aspect of the compound.

According to Patañjali meaning connoted by the compound is integrated one unlike the same connoted by the corresponding uncompounded expression.[38] Interdependency of the constituents is more explicit in uncompounded expression. Thus Patañjali understands compounding as formally different but semantically parallel construction.

The super model *sup + supā* of the compounding is in fact a discovery of Patañjali, who has suggested it with the device *yogavibhāga.* He says that the compounds that are already there but could not be fitted in either of the specified categories, would be very well justified with this device.[39]

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita about compounding-

Bhaṭṭoji's view point of looking towards compound is solely guided by the *prakriyā* principle. He has accepted four different classes *viz. avyayībhāva*-etc. He seems to be more interested in the process how two *sup*-s come together, what grammatical and phonological operations take place and finally how the process arrives at usable form. His rearrangement of rules reveals his view.

However his *sarvasamāsaśeṣaprakaraṇam*[40] reveals totally different aspect of the compounding. Bhaṭṭoji accepts *ṣamāsa* as *vṛtti* 'a mode of communicating meaning.' He holds that classification of the compounds into four is not very precise and perfect since it leaves many other compounds, that can be covered by *sup + supā*.[41]

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[37] 'इह कश्चित्समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः कश्चिदन्यपदार्थप्रधानः कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः । Patañjali on P 2.1.49 MBh Vol. I, P. 392/7-9.

[38] तत्रैकार्थीभावे सामर्थ्येऽधिकारे च सति समास एकः संगृहीतो भवति । Patañjali on P2.1.49 MBh Vol. I, P. 359/9-10.

[39] एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्सहग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत् प्रयोजनं योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत । सति च योगाङ्गे योगविभागः करिष्यते । सह सुप् समस्यते । केन सह । समर्थेन । अनुव्यचलत् अनुप्राविशत् । ततः सुपा । सुपा च सह सुप्समस्यते । अधिकारश्च लक्षणं च । यस्य समासस्यान्यल्लक्षणं नास्ति, इदं तस्य लक्षणं भविष्यति । पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयम् । पुनर्निष्कृतो रथ इति । Patañjali on P2.1.4 MBh Vol. I P. 378/7-12.

[40] *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* Ch. No. 22, P. 209.

Even he does not agree with Patañjali's definitions based on the meaning dominance. He calls them as *prācām vādaḥ prāyo'bhiprāyaḥ* (i.e. theory of old grammarians is of very loose consideration.)[42]

Further he suggests a classification based on morphological categories. Accordingly there are six classes of the compounds, which are as follows-[43]

1. *subanta + subanta* (two case inflected forms)
   e.g *rājapuruṣaḥ*.
2. *subanta + tiṅganta* (case inflected form with verbal form)
   e.g *paryabhūṣayat*.
3. *subanta + nāman* (case inflected form with a bear stem noun)
   e.g *kumbhakāraḥ*.
4. *subanta + dhātu* (case inflected form with a bear root)
   e.g *kaṭaprūḥ*.
5. *tiṅanta + tiṅanta* (two verbal forms)
   e.g *khādatamodatā*.
6. *tiṅanta + subanta* (verbal form with a case inflected form)
   e.g *jahistambaḥ*.

Out of these nos. 2,3,4,5 and 6 could hardly be accounted for by the super formula *sup+supā*. However it is to be noted that the provision of *yogavibhāga* is availed to account for nos. 2,4. The 3rd one is justified by the tradition on the basis of the *Paribhāṣā*.[44] The 5th and 6th are covered by the *mayūravyaṁsakādi* list (P. 2.1.72).

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[41] समासश्चतुर्विध इति तु प्रायोवादः । *ibid.*

[42] *ibid.*

[43] सुपां सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽथ तिङां । तिङा सुबन्तेनेति विज्ञेयः समासः षड्विधो बुधैः ॥
(वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकारिका no. 28)

[44] गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेः । *Paribhāṣā* No. 75 of

Bhaṭṭoji's contribution to the compounding is that he has given pure morphological classification which is very accommodative. However at this stage I cannot say anything how will it agree with the accentuation system.

It is surprising that although Bhaṭṭoji has proposed this six-fold classification he has justified some new compounds found in the post-Pāṇinian literature not through his six-fold classification but on the basis of P's framework.

E.g. P 2.2.12 *ktena ca pūjāyām*[45] bans a compound like *rājapūjitaḥ.* Bhaṭṭoji says it is *tṛtīyā samāsa.* Similarly he accepts a compound *tribhuvanavidhātṛ,* justified by Kaiyaṭa.[46]

Bhaṭṭoji, further followed by his commentators has made very sincere efforts to justify such forms by bringing them under P's framework.

Treatment of *Darśana* texts to the Compounding-

A thought initiated by Kātyāyana in his vtts and elaborated to some extent by Patañjali, is predominantly discussed by the *Darśana* texts. The entire discussion is centred around the meaning analysis of a compound. The main concern here is *śābdabodha*. Bhartṛhari's *Vṛttisamuddeśa* elaborately deals with *śābdabodha* of compounding.

It is *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* that points out that the process of compounding itself has special meaning-connotative power, that results into connoting meaning even in absence of certain words. e.g. The meaning *samuccaya* (collection) connoted by a compound *dhavakhadirau* is a result of the process of compounding, which is known as *samāsaśakti.*[47]

Nāgeśa accepts this special power of the compound, which he has stated in detail in his *samāsādivṛtyarthaḥ* in *Paramalaghumañjūṣā.*[48]

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[45] Tr. A form ending in genitive does not get compounded with a form ending with the suffix *Kta,* which is specially prescribed to convey 'reverence.'

[46] SK no. 709, P 2.2.15. P. 172.

[47] समासशक्त्यैव राजविशिष्टपुरुषभानसंभवे न राजपुरुषपदयोरपि पुनः तद्बोधकत्वं कल्प्यम्...।
वैयाकरणभूषणसारः समासशक्तिनिर्णयः P. 166.

[48] quoting Bhartṛhari he says, मम तु एकार्थीभावस्वीकारावयवार्थाभावाद्विशेषणाद्ययोगो न्यायसिद्धः।
परमलघुमञ्जूषा P. 319.

Kātantra and Cāndra schools about compounding-

The compounding is dealt with by the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* (K) with only 29 *sūtra*-s. *viz.* K 2.5.1- K 2.5.29. Let us see the definitions of the compounds by K-

K 2.5.1 नाम्नां समासो युक्तार्थः। prescribes the formation of the compound.

K 2.5.5 पदे तुल्याधिकरणे विज्ञेयः कर्मधारयः।

K 2.5.6 संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः।

K 2.5.7 विभक्तयो द्वितीयाद्या नाम्ना परपदेन तु समस्यन्ते समासो हि ज्ञेयस्तत्पुरुषः स च।

K 2.5.8 स्यातां यदि पदे द्वे तु यदि वा स्युर्बहून्यपि तान्यन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे बहुव्रीहिः।

K 2.5.10 द्वन्द्वः समुच्चयो नाम्नां बहूनां यदि वो भवेत्।

K 2.5.13 पूर्वं वाच्यं भवेद्यस्य सोऽव्ययीभाव इष्यते।

The K has not adopted the compact *sūtra* style. The definitions are very general and uncomplicated. The extension or the restriction to the definition is not thought of. The commentator Ugrabhūti Bhaṭṭa of the commentary *Śiṣyahitā Nyāsa* explains the *sūtra*-s almost in the light of Pāṇini's system.

The K assumes the *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* as the separate variety like other two. The essential minimum grammatical operations such as deletion of case suffixes, some morpho-phonemic operations and some *samāsānta* suffixes are prescribed in this section only. The K approach of looking towards compounding seems student-oriented. An attempt is made to simplify the topic, and also to reduce it so to make it palatable for an ordinary student. The *Kathāsaritsāgara story* (1.6) behind the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* will also support this observation.[49]

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[49] *The Kathasaritsāgara of Somadeva* Ed. Durga Prasad and Kashinatha Panduranga Parab. Nirnaya Sagar, Bombay, 1930.

The second quarter of the second *adhyāya* of the *Cāndra* grammar deals with the compounding (total rules 87).

सुप् सुपा एकार्थम्। (C 2.2.1) is the basic rule for compounding. The gender and number of the compound is also included in this section. Although the *Cāndra* grammar does not use the technical terms such as *avyayībhāva* etc. It has not suggested any new pattern of the compound.

One more pedagogical attempt is the *Samāsacakra* type of treatises that go on enumerating types and subtypes of the compounds. E.g. *Tatpuruṣa*-7, *Karmadhāraya*-8, *bahuvrīhi*-7, *Dvandva*-2, *dvigu*-2, *avyayībhāva*-2 (Total -28), *nitya, luk, aluk.*

In order to summarize these arguments following points can be put forth :

1. The *padapāṭha's* compound analysis is based on pause and a criterian to consider whether given expression is compound or not is *aikasvarya* (having one acute accent).

2. For the *Prātiśākhya*-s a compound is a linguistic entity that is subject to split, that results into a smaller pause.

3. Accentuation and *samāsānta* suffixation are main concern of Pāṇini in addition to its being *padavidhi.* His super-formula *sup + supā* proved to be accommodative one.

4. Kātyāyana is more concerned with justifying newly entered compounds in the language then. However he justifies them within the framework of Pāṇini, proposing some additions to the rules.

5. Patañjali proposes four fold classification of the compound based on the meaning predominantly connoted by them, for him compounding is semantically parallel to the sentence.

6. Bhaṭṭoji suggests six fold classification of the compounds pointing out inadequacy of the previous ones. He being *Prakriyā* grammarian meticulously deals with formation aspect of the compound i.e. from *alaukika vigraha* to usable form. He and his subsequent commentators are aware of the new compounds adopted by the literature which they justify within the given framework of *Trimuni*. Reinterpretation and twisting a rule are the methods adopted by them.

7. The *Darśana* grammarians have focused on meaning connoting capacity of the compound and arrived at the conclusion that the compound has special connotative power. (i.e. *bhinnā śaktiḥ*).

8. The *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* schools have dealt with this issue pedagogically, by minimizing a number of rules, reducing the grammatical details etc.

Thus historically a journey of *samāsa*, started from pause reached its peak at *śābdabodha*, through grammar.

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Pub. BORI, Pune,
2001 (Reprint)

10) शुक्लयजुर्वेदप्रातिशाख्यम् (वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यम्)
(भाष्यद्वयसहितम्)
संपा. वर्मा वीरेन्द्रकुमार
प्रका. चौखंबा संस्कृत प्रतिष्ठान, दिल्ली,
२००१.

11) सिद्धान्तकौमुदी
(तत्त्वबोधिनी व्याख्यासहिता)
संपा. पणशीकर वासुदेव लक्ष्मण,
प्रका. चौखंबा संस्कृत प्रतिष्ठान, दिल्ली,
१९९४.

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THE PICTURES FROM THE *BHĀGAVATAPURĀṆAM* – THEIR DESCRIPTION AND TEXTUAL CO-RELATION

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INTRODUCTORY-

The Oriental Institute is one of the most famous and important Institutes of India. The great Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad Maharaja of Baroda conceived the idea of establishing such Institute in 1983 and formally established Oriental Institute also known as *Prācya Vidyāmandira* in 1927. The main objective was to collect our ancient heritage, hidden in the form of Manuscripts, scattered in the houses of scholars, temples, *maṭhas*, Jain *Derāsaras*, preserve this valuable treasure for the posterity and edit and publish the important works, based upon the Manuscripts. He deputed scholars to various parts of India, especially Patan in Gujarat to collect such valuable treasure. He himself donated some colourful scrolls, with miniature writings from his own royal collections. Initially, started with ten thousand Manuscripts, the Oriental Institute of Baroda has now thirty thousand Manuscripts on diverse subjects, in various Scripts and written on different kinds of material. There are thousands of Manuscripts, which are very rare and unique (*codex unicum* in the technical terminology), not to be found anywhere in the world. Some of them are exclusively to be found in this collection. More than one hundred twenty five Manuscripts are Illustrated ones-i.e. having colourful pictures, miniature writings and beautiful paintings, explaining and clarifying the context. The Manuscript of the *Saundaryalaharī of Śaṅkarācārya* is one of such unique ones, which contains one *Śloka* on each page along with cololurful picture of the Goddess.

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The Manuscript no. 1105 contains beautiful artistic and colouful twenty three pictures from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. This is added in the Institute's collection in very early days. As per our accession record, the pictures are purchased at Rs. 200 from some scholar named Balashastri Govindshastri, residing in Vadodara. The pictures are mostly relating to the *Śrīkṛṣṇacaritam* i.e. the *Daśamaskandha* of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*, though there are very few relating to the other aspects. One more peculiarity of these pictures is that unlike the *Saundaryalaharī*, they incorporate only the pictures and no explanation or the textual exposition is found in them. It is, therefore, attempted to present the description and the textual co-relation for these pictures as evidenced from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*.

2 General Description-

These are simply the Paintings from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. They are twenty three in number, prepared on hand-made paper of 40 cms x 19.2 cms. The episodes of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* are illustrated in them. There is use of various vegetable colours. The painter had good knowledge of *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. There are twelve *Skandhas* of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. The main story of the *Śrīkṛṣṇacaritam* occurs in the Tenth *Skandha*. Out of Twenty three pictures, sixteen pictures are relating to the incidents of the life of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa* and belong to the tenth *Skandha*. While seven of them have connection with the first, second, eighth, ninth and eleventh *Skandha*. This shows that the painter has depicted some pictures from other *Skandhas* also, but not on all the *Skandhas*. The pictures in the Institute were kept in no proper sequence. There is no sequential order, given to them by the painter. On the basis of the episode of the particular *Skandhas*, narrated in them, I have tried to give them a proper sequence by arranging them as per order of the *Skandhas*. The following chart will show the episode of the picture and the *Skandha* number, *Adhyāya* number and the *Ślokas*, if any, in which the said episode of the picture is narrated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*, arranged as per the sequence of the *Skandha*.

3 Chart-

Sr. no.	Sanskrit Title	English Title	*Skandha* no.etc.
1	मुनिभिः संवादः	Dialogue with Sages	1.1
2	शुकोपाख्यानम्	Legend of Śuka	1.19-2.8
3	शुकपरीक्षित्संवादः	Dialogue between Śuka and Parīkṣit	2.8
4	गजेन्द्रमोक्षः	Emancipation of the Great elephant	8.2
5	गङ्गावतरणम्	Descent of Gaṅgā	9.9
6	वसुदेवेन कृष्णं नन्दगृहं नयनम्	Vasudeva carrying Kṛṣṇa to Nanda's House	10.3.46-53
7	दधिभाण्डभञ्जनम्	Breaking of Earthen pot of curds	10.9.1-10
8	यमलार्जुनभञ्जनम्	Breaking of Yamala and Arjuna	10.10
9	वत्सासुरवृत्तम्	Legend of killing of Vatsa Demon	10.11.12-45
10	धेनुकासुरवधः	Killing of Dhenuka Demon	10.15.21-40
11	कालियदमनम्	Subduing Kāliya Demon	10.16-17
12	कात्यायनीव्रतम्	Gopīs observing Kātyāyanī vow	10.22.1-7
13	गोपीवस्त्रहरणम्	Snaching the garments of Gopīs	10.22
14	गोपाभिः सह भोजनम्	Kṛṣṇa dining with Gopas	10.23.35
15	कामधेन्विन्द्राभ्यां गोविन्दस्याभिषेकः	Consecration of Lord Kṛṣṇa by Kāmadhenu and Indra	10.27
16	गोपीनां कृष्णाभिसारः	Lovelorn Gopīs approaching Kṛṣṇa	10.29
17	प्रेमासक्तगोपीनां गीतम्	Prattling of the frenzied Gopīs	10.31
18	विरहानन्तरं गोपीनां कृष्णेन सह पुनर्मिलनम्	Reunion of Gopīs with Kṛṣṇa, after separation	10.32
19	रासक्रीडा	Sporting with Gopīs	10.29-33
20	महाहिवधः	Killing of the Great serpent	10.34
21	कृष्णजाम्बवतीविवाहः	Marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Jāmbavatī	10.56.32-42
22	कृष्णस्य पत्नीभिर्मिलनम्	Kṛṣṇa meets his Queens	10.90
23	कृष्णस्योद्धवायोपदेशः	Kṛṣṇa preaching Uddhava	11.6-7

4 The episodes of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇm* and the Depiction in the Pictures-

1 The Sages Śaunaka etc. performed *Satra* of hundred sacrifices in the Naimiṣāraṇya. After fire-worship, on a fine morning, they honoured Sūta with great reverence and wished to know from him the life and the exploits of Śrīkṛṣṇa, which deliver one from the bad effects of the Kali age. Then the Romaharṣaṇa Sūta started narrating the *Bhāgavatakathā* (Bh.1.1).

The picture represents this episode. Śaunaka is seated on a throne in the middle and the Sūta, sitting on a mat, narrating. The other sages are sitting in circular fashion. There are twenty six bearded sages with matted white hair. The sage, without garments is Śuka. There are three Gods also in silken garment, but without beards and with crowns. Among them, there is Viṣṇu, in black complexion.

2 The legend of Śuka-

The *Bhāgavata* refers to the Śuka episode.

The sage Śuka in naked form is seen near three *Kadamba* trees, on the bank of river, Yamunā, with black waters. The eight fish in four groups in the river are seen. The naked sage is followed by some eleven ladies, without garments. On the other side is the sage Sūta Romaharṣaṇa, facing him are some eleven ladies, one of whom is naked, removing her both garments.

4 The *Gajendramokṣa*-

The Chief of the elephants was living on the Trikūṭa Mountain. He went to nearby pond for bathing. His foot was caught by a crocodile. He was helpless. The other She-elephants could not rescue him from the clutches of the crocodile. Ultimately, he prayed God, who appeared there and saved him. The elephant was king Indradyumna in his previous birth, who was cursed to be an elephant by sage Agastya for not honouring him. The crocodile was Hūhū *gandharva*, who was cursed to be crocodile in the next birth by Devala for pulling the foot of the sage, while he was bathing in the river. Both were relieved by the lord, since they were devotees of the lord.

The water is shown in black colour. The pond is with Chief of Elephants and other She –elephants. They are paying homage to the Lord *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, who rescued the *Gajendra*. Near the Lord is *Garuḍa* -the god's vehicle. Some seven fish are seen in the water.

On the other part of the picture, there are four *Kadamba* trees. Two gods sitting in an airboat are observing the incident from the sky. The lord sitting on the Garuḍa is seen. The elephant, in the form of Indradyumna and the crocodile in the form of Hūhū *Gandharva* are bowing down to the lord.

5 *Gaṇgāvataraṇa*-

The king Sagara had performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, but the horse of the sacrifice was carried away by Indra and was tied before the hermitage of the sage Kapila. The sons of Sagara, finding horse there, rushed to kill Kapila, who on awakening from *Samādhi* all of a sudden put to ashes all of them. Later on Aṁśuman came there, who was informed that if Gaṅgā is brought from the heaven, these could be enlivened. Aṁśuman and Dilīpa both practiced austerities, but were not successful. Only Bhagīratha was successful, who also appeased Śaṅkara to first hold Gaṅgā on His head. Later on with sanctifying waters of Gaṅgā, the sons of Sagara were revived.

Here Gaṅgā, in white *sārī* is descending down from the Heaven. She is seated on the swan. Three faces are shown in between-may her three forms as Mandākinī, Jāhnavī and Bhāgīrathī. She has four hands, all decked with many bangles. In one of her hands, she wears *Rudrākṣamālā*, in the other a flag, in the third a book and the fourth is in *Varadamudrā*. The lord Śiva is in red garment, matted hair, wearing one serpent in the neck. He has four hands. The two hands are shown with *Rudrākṣamālā*. The other two are joined hands, bowing down Gaṅgā, descending from his matted hair and spreading in the form of flow of water. The black colour flowing water of Gaṅgā is having some fourteen fish in the current on both sides. After Śiva, to the left side are seen the gods – Viṣṇu, in black colour and Four- faced Brahmā –both with four hands-two folded, bowing down Śiva and other two with two *Rudrākṣamālā*s. Then after is the sage Nārada with lute in his hands. Then the sage Sūta and the naked sage Śuka are shown. Two *Kadamba* trees are seen, each one on the right and the left side, with some red colour flowers.

6 After the Birth of Śrīkṛṣṇa, Vasudeva carried the child Śrīkṛṣṇa from Mathurā to Gokula. He was required to cross the flooding waters of the Yamunā river.

The picture has two portions. The right side shows the palace of Kaṁsa, where in the jail, there is incarnation of Viṣṇu in the *Caturbhuja* form. Vasudeva and Devakī are bowing Him down with respects. The two doorkeepers are sitting outside the mansion with sword and the shield in their hands, but they are shown to be asleep, with closed eyes. On the left side, Vasudava is carrying Śrīkṛṣṇa to Gokula through the waters of Yamunā . The black water of Yamunā is shown, along with some nine fish in it. On the bank, there are five *Kadamba* trees. On the background, there is sky with full (?) moon.

7 Among the childish pranks of the lord Kṛṣṇa, *Dadhibhāṇḍabhañjana* is depicted. Kṛṣṇa is narrated to have broken the earthen pot, full of curds, when Yaśodā kept aside Kṛṣṇa, who was sucking milk of her breasts, as the milk, kept on fire was overflowing. Yaśodā then narrated to have beaten Kṛṣṇa with stick.

On the right side, in front of and in the mansion, the red colour earthen pot of the curds is shown, broken by Kṛṣṇa and some ten Gopa-chaps, who are partaking and enjoying the pranks. On the other side, Yaśodā is beating Kṛṣṇa with a stick in her hand. Ten Gopīs are seen to be complaining about Kṛṣṇa. Many *Kadamba* trees are seen beyond the wall and the four monkeys are seen on the wall and one on the tree inside. The parrot is also sitting on the tree inside the campus.

8 Yamala and Arjuna –these two trees were broken by Kṛṣṇa, while he was tied with a rope to the *Ulūkhala*. In fact, these two trees were two *Gandharvas*, who were cursed by Nārada for bathing without clothes in Gaṅgā, along with other young ladies, after drinking wine.

The trees are seen in the picture. Outside the mansion, in garden near the house, there are many trees. Eight Gopīs in a queue, along with Yaśodā on the fore front are found. As a punishment for breaking the pots of curds, Yaśodā tied Śrīkṛṣṇa with a rope to the *Ulūkhala*, but he ran with that *Ulūkhala* through the two trees. The two sages Yamala and Arjuna freed from their curse are saluting the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Two Gods sitting in an airboat in the sky are observing the scene.

9 Once Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and other Gopas-were grazing cows near Yamunā river. A demon came there in the form of a calf to kill both of them. Kṛṣṇa noticed the demon in the herd. Hurling him near a *Kapiṭṭha* tree, by holding both of his hinder feet and the tail, he killed him by the falling of the *Kapiṭṭhas*.

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the upper background, playing near some trees and other Gopas are seen grazing cows. Some Gopas are in the waters of Yamunā river, shown in black colour, with fish in it. On the left side, Brahmā is seen praying the lord Kṛṣṇa. On the upper side as if in the cloudy sky, the Gopas and cows are shown to be peacefully resting.

10 The demon Dhenuka in the form of Donkey lived in a *Tāla* forest near Vṛndāvana. Gopas proposed Kṛṣṇa to go there. Balarāma broke the *Tāla* trees with his arms. The Dhenuka all of a sudden came there, who was also killed by Balarāma. All his associates were also killed. The entire forest was made free from the fear of the demon and his atrocities.

The Dhenuka demon in the form of donkey is seen to the right, among the *Tāla* trees. Other trees Kadamba, plantain etc. are also to be seen to the other side. In one grove, under the tree, Kṛṣṇa is sitting on the *Kamalāsana.* Similarly, Balarāma is sitting under a tree on the *Kamalāsana* in the other grove. Some Gopas are attending Śrīkṛṣṇa, some are singing, dancing and playing on lute. Some eight Gopas are seen talking about the rushing donkey.

11 In the Yamunā river, there was a *hrada* (pond) in which Kāliya - the black cobra, full of dreadful poison was residing. Kṛṣṇa wished to make Yamunā free from the poison of this great cobra. He climbed the nearby *Kadamba* tree and fell into the water. He then danced on his forehead. The blood started coming out from his mouth. The wives of Kāliya took refuge of the lord and implored him to forgive. He then ordered not to stay any more there. From that day, Yamunā became free from the poisonous effect.

In the black waters of Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa is sitting on the Kāliya - the hooded serpent. Seventeen fish and one crocodile are shown in the waters. The eight wives of Kāliya requesting Kṛṣṇa to forgive Kāliya are depicted. On the bank near the river, there is big *Kadamba* tree. The sixteen Gopas, with sticks in their hands are waiting on the bank, near the tree and observing the incident.

12 In the first month of the *Hemanta*, the Unmarried ladies practiced the *Kātyāyanī vrata*. They eat only *Haviṣyānna*. They took bath in Yamunā at the time of *Aruṇodaya* and then worshipped the Image of *Kātyāyanī* of sands for a month. They prayed the Goddess to have Kṛṣṇa as their husband.

Many virgins are seen in the beautifully pictured structure. The black waters of Yamunā and the different kinds of trees –*Kadamba*, Plantain etc. and trees of flowers etc. are depicted. They are worshipping as if the *Vanaśrī* -forest Goddess.

13 While observing the *Kātyāyanī vrata*, once the Gopīs kept their clothes on the bank of the river Yamunā and plunged in to the water, in naked form. Kṛṣṇa, along with His friends went there, took away their clothes and sat on the branch of a *Nīpa* (*Kadamba*) tree. He asked them to come out of water and take their clothes from Him. Ultimately, covering their productive organ (*Yoni*) with hand, the Gopīs came out. He then assured them their wish to be fulfilled.

Twenty naked Gopīs, are coming out of Yamunā river, requesting Kṛṣṇa to return their garment, carried away by him. Kṛṣṇa, sitting on the branch of a *Kadamba* tree on the bank of the river is depicted with collected garments of the Gopīs, kept on the different branches of the tree.

14 Once, the Gopas were hungry, while grazing cows. They approached Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and asked for food. On Kṛṣṇa's advice, they first went to Sages, who were practicing *Satra*, but could not get anything from them. They then begged for food to wives of sages, who agreed to give food and went to Kṛṣṇa, who was in the *Aśokavana*, in the garden nearby Yamunā river. Then, Kṛṣṇa along with the Gopas relished that food.

The Gopas, sitting in a circular position with Kṛṣṇa in the middle, are eating food. In the right side, mansion is seen. On the left side, *Govardhana* Mountain and the cows, grazing under it are found. On the upper side, the Gods, sitting in the air-boat are observing the incident.

15 Consecration of the lord Śrīkṛṣṇa.

After the incident of Govardhana, Indra has come down on his white elephant *Airāvata* to consecrate Kṛṣṇa, sitting on the seat on the ground. The *Kāmadhenu* has also come there. Some six trees are in the background. Mountain Govardhana to back side of the *Airāvata* and to the left side of the picture is seen.

16 At nights of the *Śarada* season, Kṛṣṇa had desire for sporting. He made sweet notes, which attracted the ladies of the Vraja and they approached Kṛṣṇa leaving aside all kinds of work that they were doing. Though warded off by their husbands and other relatives, they went near Him, with their mind completely engrossed in Him.

Yamunā river, with black water is seen at the bottom. Two ladies are filling drinking water from the river in the pots. One is shown carrying the water. On the bank, there are several trees. On the top, the Full Moon is shining. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are standing under a tree. Kṛṣṇa is playing the flute. On listening it, Gopīs are approaching him from their houses. Nearly twenty Gopīs are going towards him in two groups. One is quite near him. One is inside the mansion, being warded off by her husband.

17 Kṛṣṇa first entreated Gopīs to return to their homes, but on listening to their unflinching affection enjoyed with them. He sung sweet songs, wore *Vaijayantīmālā*, went to bank of Yamunā and made them enjoy all kinds of sexual sports. In- between, He disappeared and Gopīs were very much worried. They lamented for Him.

Yamunā river, with black water and fish is at the bottom. On the bank, there are many big trees and full-moon at the top. Kṛṣṇa is not seen. Nineteen Gopīs are seen lamenting due to his disappearance. A sparrow is shown on one of the trees. Gopīs are inquiring about Kṛṣṇa to each other, the trees and bird.

18 When Kṛṣṇa disappeared all of a sudden in-between, Gopīs became very impatient. They came to the bank of Yamunā and collectively sung the song, very famous as *Gopīgītam*, in which they express feelings of their heart to Kṛṣṇa.

Yamunā river, with black water and six fish swimming in it is seen. Three trees on the bank and Gopīs in two groups, with Kṛṣṇa in the middle are also visible. Fifteen Gopīs on the right side and twenty one on the left side are depicted. They are expressing their feelings through the *Gopīgītam*.

19 Then after, He once again appeared and the real *Rāsakrīdā* and *Rāsotsava* began, in which the Gopīs made a circular form, with two Gopīs, entering in the middle, with Kṛṣṇa. The Gods, *Gandharvas* etc. beat drums in the sky and poured showers of flowers.

Kṛṣṇa once again appears before them and then they all enjoy the *Rāsakrīdā*. The black waters of Yamunā river are shown and on the bank of it, Kṛṣṇa is seen to be dancing along with each Gopī. Balarāma is also dancing all alone at one corner. Instead of full moon, crescent moon is painted in the upper background. Some trees are seen near to the side of dancing Balarāma. The gods and *Apsaras* are to the upper side in the airboat.

20 Once, on a religious tour, the *Gopalas* went to *Ambikāvana*. They took bath in the Sarasvatī river there and worshipped Śiva and Pārvatī. At night, one great hungry Serpent of that forest came there and started swallowing Nanda, who was sleeping. He shouted and implored Kṛṣṇa to rescue him. Gopas tried to scorch him with burning fire, but he did not leave him. Kṛṣṇa touched him with His feet. He then took divine form of a *Gandharva*.

The great pantheon is seen on the left side, devouring the cows. The river in black colour, with fish in it is shown in a small part at the bottom. The frightened Gopas are depicted. Some are climbing the nearby trees. Kṛṣṇa is seen at the right end. Some birds are also painted.

21 Satrājit gave his daughter Jāmbavatī or Satyabhāmā to Kṛṣṇa in marriage. The story of Syamantaka jewel is narrated here.

Satrājit is offering oblations in the fire. Near him, there is a Brahmin. In the Marriage *Maṇḍapa*(canopy), decorated with plantain tree, Lord Kṛṣṇa, Jāmbavatī and two attendant ladies are depicted. Five ladies are also depicted standing on the ground near Satrājit. On the background, there are three mountain ranges. To the left, Kṛṣṇa is seen beating the elephant, who is painted in a reverse form, with feet up and back on the surface.

22 Śrīkṛṣṇa lived happily at Dvārakā, enjoying- the only one husband of sixteen thousand wives.

There are five pictures in one. All depict the theme of Kṛṣṇa's enjoying the company of his queens, 1 attending him and serving by moving chowry. 2 In one of the pictures, the queens are pouring waters on him for bath. 3 Kṛṣṇa is along with queens and is making donation to some person.4 Kṛṣṇa is along with his wives and is telling some thing to Balarāma, sitting on the throne.

23 Kṛṣṇa gave philosophical advice to Uddhava.

On the bank of Yamunā, with back water waves and ten fish swimming in it, Kṛṣṇa is preaching Uddhava the philosophical knowledge. Six *Kadamba*, three plantain and three coconut trees are depicted in the background.

Concluding Remarks-

1. The pictures do not contain any kind of explanations, comments, tittles etc.
2. The painter has tried to depict the themes at his own sweet will, the selected episodes of the entire *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* from different *Skandhas*, but not from all *Skandhas*. Majority of them are based upon the famous *Daśamaskandha*, containing exploits of Kṛṣṇa.
3. Though the painter's main basis is the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*, he might be influenced by the local tradition. Yet knowledge of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* is evident. He has minutely depicted various themes.
4. Some defects may be noted, as described previously. The river waters are always depicted as black and the moon is painted as Full or Cresent Moon, but not fitting the context.
5. The dresses of the ladies and their faces etc. indicate influence of Rajasthan – Mevad style.
6. In these pictures, there is not only the use of various vegetable colours and golden ink, but rarely there is also use of pure pearls for the earrings of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs.
7. The uniqueness of these pictures is explained and the textual co-relation with the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* is expounded for the first time, in this paper.
8. The scholar Prof. Ratan Parimmoo, Ex- Head and Professor, Art History, Faculty of Fine Arts, M.S. University has opined that the pictures represent the Deccan school with Influence of the Rajasthani Mevad tradition of paintings.

TORAṆA ARCHITECTURE OF GUJARAT

*SHUSHMITA SEN AND SUNITA LAKHANI J.

1. Introduction

Toraṇa is a free-standing ornamental or arched gateway for ceremonial purposes. It is a prominent feature of temple architecture in Gujarat. It was originally, a gateway with posts and crosspieces, sometimes elaborately decorated and carved. Surviving *Toraṇas* are made of stone, in imitation of earlier wooden architecture. An artistic building of such a virile character as that, flourished under the Solanki rule (10th century A.D.) of Gujarat. However the Solankis did not confine the *Toraṇas* or carved gateways itself solely for the production of temples, but also for the structures like semi-religious or civic character executed at different places during this period, like those near the tanks and public wells, monumental towers, city gateways and *Kīrti-stambhas* or temple arch-ways.[1]

The Chaulukyan (Solanki) period (942-1299 A.D.) marked one of the most glorious period in the history of Gujarat and contributed much to its various cultural activities including those in the sphere of art and architecture. Architecture of the late mediaeval period may be classified as : Religious and Secular.

The religious type is grouped as lakes, wells, reservoirs and temples, all of which were constructed to gain *Puṇya* (merit), accruing to their builders. The general scheme of the Chaulukyan temple consists of the sanctum and the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* attached with a porch *(ardhamaṇḍapa)* combined usually in axial length. The exterior

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[1] Sompura, *Structural Temples of Gujarat* (upto 1600 A.D.), Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1968, pp. 445.

walls are broken up by horizontal moldings and vertical chases, projected and recessed alternately and carried up into the elevation producing effective contract of light and shade.

Under secular type, the remains of wooden decorations, now existing in Patan and elsewhere in Gujarat and remains of city walls (forts) and gates, are called as 'Military or Civic architecture' and also includes stone carving decorations in other gateways of this period.

The *Toraṇas* of Gujarat can be classified under civic architecture. In some monuments, the temple-complex is fronted by an arched gate *(Toraṇa)* or more popularly known as *Kīrti Toraṇa* on the two sides of the frontage. It was on the *Toraṇas* however that the craftsman's art was mainly concentrated some of which are remarkably elaborate and even romantic productions. It is clear that they were derived from a wooden prototype, as timber is still employed in these parts to the present day in Gujarat. Sometimes in place of one *Kīrti Toraṇa* in the centre, two *Kīrti Toraṇas* are found. This huge, beautifully carved gateway is also known as *Kīrti Toraṇa*. The *Kīrti Toraṇas* is a form of *Toraṇa*, usually an accompaniment to the temple design, standing as its outer entrance, but there were some *Toraṇas* used for the ceremonial purposes of swinging the god *(hiṇḍolā)*. All the parts forming *Kīrti Toraṇa* are devised on the same principles as those employed in the temple design. Like that of the temple, the Toraṇas have the spreading base, figured shaft, bracket capitals, and tabernacle superstructure being of much the same order, and is even more ornate. *Kīrti Toraṇa* with exquisite carving and delicacy is known all over the western India, especially in Gujarat, and Rajasthan.[2]

Toraṇas of Gujarat

Mehsana District–

Vadnagar	*Kīrtitoraṇa*	12th Century A.D.
Piludra	*Kīrtitoraṇa*	12th Century A.D.
Modhera	Sun Temple	11th Century A.D.
Valam	Raṇachoḍajī Temple	12th to 13th Century A.D.
Asoda	Śivapañcāyatana Temple	12th Century A.D.

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[2] *Ibid*

Patan District–

Siddhapur	Rudramahālaya	10th to 12th Century A.D.
Delmal	Limbojimātā Temple	12th to 13th Century A.D.

Sabarkantha District–

Shamlaji	*Hariścandrani Corī*	10th Century A.D.
Derol	Triple Shrine Temple	11th to 13th Century A.D.

Kheda District–

Kapadvanj	*Kīrtitoraṇa*	12th or 13th Century A.D.

Porbandar District–

Balej	Sun Temple	12th or 13th Century A.D.

Artistic features of *Toraṇas*

The horizontal mouldings which are generally found carved on the *Toraṇas* are as follows : from the bottom upwards *Bhitta* (platform), *Grasapaṭṭī* (a band of *Kīrtimukha), Gajathara* and *Narathara* etc.[3]

The *Grasapaṭṭī* is a string-course or moulding sculptured with grinning faces; with horns also called '*Kīrtimukha*' or '*Kīrtivaktra*', which is a decorative form of great antiquity, being found in the cave-temples as well as in structural buildings, including *Toraṇas.* The mouldings *Grasapaṭṭī* and *Karṇikā (Kani)* are available from the middle of the 10th Century A.D. onwards.

The *Kīrtimukha*, at all places, is sculptured facing the full front. The figures show that it is already stylized. Its evolution can be traced back to Gupta temples and Ajanta caves of the Vakataka period, where the form, in spite of being decorative, is realistic.[4]

The elephant mouldings in the basement of a temple are called *Gajathara* or *Gajamālā*. Elephants are representing in line, with their heads and fore-legs from the basement as if supporting the building, and where such a member appears, the base is called *Gajapīṭha*.

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[3] Cousens, H., "The Antiquities of Western India", The Indian Society, 1926, London, p. 24-25.

[4] Sompura, *Ibid*, p. 450-451.

The *Aśvathara* or rows of horses, when employed, occupy a simil ar position; the *Narathara* or band of men forms a sort of Frieze, which represents the mythological scenes and incidents. The men and women therein seem to represent persons on a royal highway, as it is sometimes called *Rājavīthi*. How and why a *Narathara* came to be sculptured, cannot be definitely explained, but it seems that the idea was taken from the practice of portraying a procession of men and women on the gateway of Buddhist *Stūpas*. The *Gajathara, Narathara* and *Aśvathara* mouldings are seen only from the early part of the eleventh century onwards. They are exhibited mostly in the large temples.

Among composite or mythical figures, the *Kīrtimukha* and *Makara* are most common in Indian Sculptures as well as in the monuments of Gujarat including the *Toraṇas*. *Makara*, meaning crocodile in Sanskrit, is a traditional motif used in decorative art. Elsewhere in the *Chaulukyan* monuments, the *makara* serves as a decorative figure, principally as a bracket of pillars with *makara Toraṇas*. Instances of these are found in the temples at Modhera, Somnath and Abu. Even in the early stages, a *makara* was never realistically sculptured. Along with the *makara* may be mentioned the fish which is sculptured on the brackets of. This motive is totally new to Gujarat sculpture.[5]

The architecture is surmounted by an arch consisting of three or five curves arranged in the form of a triangular pediment. The arch is flanked by a facetted rectangular block surmounted by an *amlaka* and a *makara* known as *Tilaka*.[6]

Types of Toranas

The text *Aparājitapṛcchā*[7] describes five varieties of the *Toraṇa* that is *Uttuṅga, Mālādhara, Vicitra, Citra-rūpaka* and *Makaradhvaja* by name.

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[5] Hajarnis, R., *Gujaratani Śilpa Samṛddhi-Ek Vihaṅgāvalokana*, Department of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, Ahmedabad, 1998. p. 32-38.

[6] Sompura, *Ibid*, p. 450-451.

[7] Mankad, P. A. (ed.), *Aparājitapṛcchā*, GOS No. 115, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1950 P. 1-13.

The varieties differ from each other especially in the number of the pillars and/or other component parts like *Illikas* (small arch with pilasters) and *Mattavāraṇas* (parapet, a railing) the *Uttuṅga* variety contains only one pair of pillars while the other varieties have one or two pairs more. All extant *Toraṇas* in Gujarat contain one pair of pillars and hence belonging to the *Uttuṅga* variety. *Aparājitapṛcchā* imparts a separate chapter on *Kīrtitoraṇa* under the head of *Toraṇa.*[8]

Aparājitapṛcchā[9] prescribes dimensions of the parts of its pillars and enjoins to provide them with *Tilakas* and *Makaras* as well as with arches -*Toraṇas* with three curve -*Illikas* on each side. The texts also recommend installing figure of Sadāśiva in the centre and that of Brahmā and that of Viṣṇu on the right and left respectively. This recommendation is well applied to the *Toraṇa* at Vadnagar. The *Toraṇas* at Kapadvanj, Balej, Shamalaji etc. however, show some deviation in detail.

Toraṇa of Vadnagar : Badanagara is a very old town, lying 19 miles in a direct line south-east by east from Siddhapura, Mehsana district. In early times the place was known as Anandapura, and also several other names, like Nagara, Anartpura, Camatkarapura, and Vraddhnagar. Vadnagara is well known in the archaeological map of Gujarat by its monumental *Toraṇas* of Solanki period.[10]

Of the older remains of Vadnagara, the chief are two *Kīrtīstambhas* or triumphal arches that must once have been connected with a great temple of which not a vestige now remains. They stand outside the walls of the north of the town, and are identical in size and design, the more easterly of the two being in much better preservation that the other, which stands parallel to it but to the north-west. It seems probable that the first stood before the main or east entrance to a temple and the other to the north of that entrance much as that

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8. *Ibid*, p. CXIV, 1-13
9. *Ibid*, p. 1-13
10. Burgess, J. and Cousens, H., *The Architectural Antiquity of Northern Gujarat*, Bhartiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1975. P.-68

still left at the Rudramahālaya of Siddhapura. Both of them face the east, and the intermediate space between the arches is now occupied by the houses.

They are built of red and yellow sandstone. The plinth of the *Toraṇa*-pillar is simple, having a decoration of lozenges only. After this follow in order, the *Padma, Kaṇi, Kīrtimukhas, Gajathara, Narathara* and sculptured *Kumbhī.* Then, 'torus,' 'drip', projection and a *Kīrtimukha* band. After this, a paneled figure on each face of the pillar, placed under a richly craved canopy. Over this, after octagonal bands are corbel projections, which support the standing figures on the inside and outside of the pillar **(See Figure-1)**.

The capital is similar to those on the columns of the Rudramahālaya, and encased by pointed, carved leaves, over this is another bracket, which supports on the inside a 'griffin'', and from the mouths of the *makaras* springs the semi-circular arch; on the outside, round the shaft of the sur-capital are three standing figures, one on each side; over this, there is a short shaft surmounted with a capital and brackets. This supports the architrave from which springs a triangular arch. Inside the arch, between the two middle pillars, is a seated god, perhaps *Śiva.* On his one side, is a standing Gaṇeśa, on the other the figure is not distinct.[11]

The Vadnagar *Toraṇas* in date, are not much later than those at Siddhapura. Their mouldings and decorative motifs resemble each other much and are almost identical with the remains of *Toraṇa* at Modhera, and should be assigned to the period of Jayasiṁha.[12]

Toraṇa of Piludra : Piludra, is 12 kms., away from Mehsaṇa *tālukā* and $1^1/_2$ km from Randala in Mehsana district, northern Gujarat. It is known for the remains of the ancient Sūrya *Mandira* (Sun Temple). The village has an important architectural monument consisting of a gateway or *Toraṇa* which is believed to have formed part of the Sun Temple.[13] The temple has been destroyed but the remains are lying buried under debris close by. The *Toraṇa*, too, is not intact; its architrave and the pediment with its fine sculpture have mostly disappeared. The vestiges consisting of two pillars and the arch over them are still there. The pillars are profusely and finely carved, but are not now out of plumb.

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[11] Sompura, p. 453

[12] Sankalia, H. D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat, (including Kathiawar)*, Vaibhav Press, Bombay, 1941, pp. 88-90.

"The *Toraṇa* is believed to have been the entrance to the Sun temple." This local belief seems to be justified, because, besides the remains of temple which are said to be buried under debris near by, the central figure of the architrave, upper *Toraṇa,* though considerably mutilated, appears to be a seated image of Sūrya, and his emblem, the Lotus, is still visible in the right hand.[14]

The basement mouldings seem to be buried, under ground, the inner *Toraṇa* (or arch) is missing; whereas the upper *Toraṇa* is mostly broken. Though many of the decorative sculptures are destroyed. The extant remains indicate that the *Toraṇa* was like the *Toraṇas* at Vadnagar, Siddhpur and Kapadvanj both in the number of its mouldings and their decorations. The beautifully carved pillars and other architectural pieces fixed in the middle of the village, reveal the past prosperity of the locality. The other noteworthy monument is the Śītalāmātā temple which is also in the village.[15]

Toraṇa of Valam : It is 9 kms west from the Visanagar village, in the Visanagar *tālukā*, in the northern Gujarat.[16] The temple is dedicated to Raṇachoḍajī at present, but the image is not an old one, but according to the locals it was the temple dedicated to *Varāha.* There is a beautifully carved *Toraṇa* standing in front of the temple.[17]

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[13] Rajyagor, S. B., *Gujarat State Gazetteers, -Sabarkantha District,* Ahmedabad, 1974, pp. 245-248

[14] Sompura, p. 455

[15] Sankalia, *Ibid* , Mehta, V. J., *Monuments and Sculptures of Mehsana and Patan Districts-Gujarat,* The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, Ahmedabad, 2000, pp. 55-58.

[16] Sankalia, H. D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat, (including Kathiawar),* Vaibhav Press, Bombay, 1941, pp. 88-90

[17] Sompura, p. 453

The whole temple is under construction; hence the *Toraṇa* is also plastered. So the sculptures carved on the *Toraṇa* cannot be identified easily. One of its sides is also attached with the wall. The base of the *Toraṇa* is plain. Only one small sculpture is carved on the four sides of the *Toraṇa*.

Upon that, one sculpture holding the *Gadā* (mace) is carved in the niche of the *Toraṇa*. *Narathara* mouldings are carved on it, but no *Kīrtimukha, Gajathara*, and *Makaras* are found in this *Toraṇa*. The upper part of the *Toraṇa* is very beautifully carved. Along with Viṣṇu some other small sculptures along with wheels (*cakras*) are also depicted. The *Toraṇa* is small in comparison to the others and also less carved. The *Toraṇa* is not richly ornamented as the other Solanki *Toraṇas*, but some of its parts including the upper portion are highly ornamented.

Toraṇa of Asoda : It is a small village 16 kms from Vijapur in Mehsana district. It has an ancient Śiva Temple known as Śivapañcāyatana temple, believed to have been built by *Siddharāja* Jayasiṁha.[18] This Śiva temple is a rare example belonging to the *Pañcāyatana* class having four subsidiary shrines. In style, the carvings belong to the 12th C. and on that account, the age of this interesting structure is not far remote from that of the Sun temple at Modhera.[19]

There are also traces of two *Toraṇas* in front of the temple. There are two *Toraṇas* in this complex, One on the eastern side (main entrance), and one on the south eastern side of the temple. Like the Modhera *Toraṇa*, its upper portion is also damaged. The *Toraṇa* is less carved than the Modhera. The base of the *Toraṇa* is plain; only one small sculpture is carved in the niche on the four sides. Upon that *Grasspaṭṭi, Gajathara* and *Narathara* mouldings are carved. Mostly *Narathara* mouldings are depicted on the *Toraṇas*. Between the two *Narathara* mouldings, the semi-gods sculptures are carved in the niches. The pillars of the *Toraṇas* are beautifully carved from the bottom to the top. They are decorated with the floral designs. But some of its sculptures are badly damaged, so cannot be easily identified. The arch of the *Toraṇa* is also missing. On the bases of the carvings, the *Toraṇa* belongs to the 12th cẹntury A.D.

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[18] Rajyagor, *Ibid*, pp. 88-92

[19] Sompura, p. 455

Toraṇa of Modhera : The village of Modhera stands on a knoll, rising out of the otherwise level country, 18 miles south of Patan, and on the left bank of the Puṣpavatī river- a small stream that winds its way south-westwards and joins the Rurer or Rupan. Near the river, and further to the west, is the old temple, beautifully situated, with a fine oblong *Kuṇḍa* or tank in front of it. The shrine was dedicated to Sūrya or Āditya-the Sun god, and even now in its ruin and decay, it is still an imposing structure, with a majestic beauty rarely met with in such remains. No finer or more interesting structure other than this, remains in northern Gujarat. The whole temple consists of the *Garbhagṛha* or shrine, and *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa* or hall, a *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* or outer hall, locally known as Sītā's *chāvadī.*[20]

In front of the east entrance to the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*, and at the head of the flight of steps leading down to the *Sūryakuṇḍa*, stand two columns- all are the remains of a fine *Toraṇa* or *Kīrtistambha* arch, similar in style to those at Vadnagar, Siddhapur, and Kapadvanj. The entablature, pediment and *Toraṇa* or garland now lies in a heap of fragments on the steps below. Each of these pillars, standing free as it does from the hall, has its own basement with mouldings complete.

The columns are tall and graceful, and their mouldings, which are numerous and carved, are governed in their proportions by those on the exterior walls and the principal figure-band corresponding to the *vedī*. The pillars are richly carved from the *Kumbhī* (moulded base) to the *Baranī* (capital), have *stambhas* (shafts) with bands of sculpture, each belt a little smaller and narrower than the one below it.

The pillars have the same mouldings as on the other *Toraṇas*. Base of the pillar is richly carved with the floral designs. Upon that, *Aśvathara* and *Narathara* mouldings are depicted. Some sculptures are carved in the niches; they added the beauty to the *Toraṇa*.

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[20] Burgess, J. and Cousens, H., *The Architectural Antiquity of Northern Gujarat*, Bhartiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1975. pp. 157-159

The *Toraṇas* are beautiful additions, and their introduction between the pillars contributes to the charm of the whole; but much of their beauty is lost by the destruction of the little scrolls that filled the spaces between the cusps and of the hanging tips of the cusps. The *Toraṇas* have lost their middle portion, now only pillars are remaining.[21] *Toraṇas* on the both sides of the frontage, serve as entrances to the temple.[22]

Torana of Siddhapur : The town of Siddhapur lies seventeen miles further up to the Sarasvatī River than Anhilavada-Pattana, being slightly to the north of east from it, and sixty-four miles north of Ahmedabad. It is prettily situated on a rising ground on the west or north-west bank of the Sarasvatī. In the 10th century, Mūlarāja began to embellish *Śrīsthala* by the erection of the famous Śaiva temple known as the Rudramahālaya.[23]

The *Kīrtistambha* or *Toraṇa* that now remains of the possible two or three, is built on the same principal as at Vadnagar and the ruined one at Modhera. But, in the decoration of its moulding, it differs from that of the later. The existing *Toraṇa* is situated to the north of the front porch and consists of two pillars that support a richly couch architrave over which, is a pediment in the shape of a triangular arch. This springs from *makara*-mouth and rest on for smaller columns. A *Toraṇa*, semi-circular in shape once adorned the inside of the pillars. It sprang from elephant brackets and touched the sofit. Both the *Toraṇas* thus are decorative, and not structural, as the main is played by the architrave and the brackets. The base of the pillars, in comparison to ordinary ones is much broader. Each base consists of three plinths, and a *kumbhī*, above it, cut into a series of facets.

Possibly this was decorated with *Kīrtimukhas*, and other small figures, and with a seated figure on each face of the base. Over this, is a *jaṅghā* containing a standing figure on each of its four sides. Above this, there are smaller bands over a circular shaft. Then comes the capital adorned with pendent leaves. Above this, is a bracket (perhaps in the shape of the elephant).[24]

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[21] *Ibid*

[22] Sompura, p. 452

[23] Burgess, J. and Cousens, H. *Ibid*, p. 67

Over this, there is a short shaft with a sur-capital and a bracket which supports the architrave. This is sculptured with minute figures above the architrave, each *makara*-bracket (which supports the *Toraṇa*) contains figures. Similar figures perhaps once stood between the small supporting pillars of the triangular *Toraṇas*, as at Vadnagar.[25]

Toraṇa of Delmal : The village of Delmal or Dilmal lies about 16 miles south-west of Patan and 10 miles north-west from Modhera. The number of small shrines now more or less ruined, are lying in its vicinity and extending for some distance to the south and south-east of the village, it must at one time have been a place of considerably more importance than at present it can be claimed to be.

On the west side of the temple of Lumbojā-*mātā*, is the *Toraṇa* of Delmal. It consists of two plain pillars except *grasa* moulding shaft which supports the plain lintels over them. Above the lintels on both the ends, are the *Tilakas.*[26]

Toraṇa of Shamalaji : The temple of *Hariścandranī corī* probably of the 10th C.A.D. is situated near Shamalaji in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat. This territory was under the sway of the Paramārā.

The *Toraṇa* is standing on southern or left bank of the river and thus on the opposite bank of Shamalaji. It is hardly 15 yards from the river and about 20' above the river bed. At present it is a free-standing sandstone structure of dry masonry and measures 11'-0'' in height and 9'-11'' in width. This width 9'-11'' more or less corresponds to six *hasta* width of *Kaniṣṭha* class *Pratoli* according to *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, and *Aparājitapṛcchā.* The height of *Kaniṣṭha* class *Pratolī* according to *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, should be 10 *hastas* i.e. about 15'-0". Now if we add 4'-0" to present height 11'-0" by assuming height of the superstructure-*Kūṭacchadya*-to be 4'-0", the original height of this *Toraṇa* might have been 15'-0". Hence it can be concluded that this *Toraṇa* originally was a *Kaniṣṭha* class *Toraṇa* measuring six *hasta* width and ten *hasta* in height. Remains of stone slab and other fragments of decorative portions of some structure are scattered on a low platform, which originally probably had low boundary wall. *Toraṇa* itself is in the centre of the northern alignment of the boundary line of this platform and roughly in axis line of the present temple which seems to have been repaired at a very late period. Hence it can be concluded that this *Toraṇa* is an *Uttuṅga* type arched gateway of a temple facing north.[27]

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[24] Sompura, p. 452

[25] Sankalia, pp. 83-85

[26] *Ibid*, p. 457

The images and decorative motifs of *Pīṭha*, are carved on the northern face of the *Pīṭha* support the assumption that the *Toraṇa* is facing north. The whole structure is composed of *Pīṭha* or *Udumbara* (Base), two *stambhas* (Pillars) and *Paṭṭa* (Lintel). The surmounting superstructure or *Kūṭacchadya* is completely missing. Only a very small fragment of a cornice is still surviving overlying the lintel providing a clue for the superstructure. The two pillars are resting on an *Udumbara,* measuring 10'-3". These pillars are gaily decorated with mouldings, motifs and other carvings of figures and foliage, are after conventional Cannons of ancient *Vāstuśāstra.* These pillars support the *Paṭṭa* or Lintel-decorative portions on side slabs of which are missing.

From two *Makaramukhas* in the lintel and other decorations on this *stambhas,* it is clear that this is a *Makara-Toraṇa*, and hence a temple gateway. The *Pīṭha* or *Udumbara* or base slab is composed of rectangular slabs pieced together with dry masonry. This *Pīṭha* is plain except conventional central small images of *Kinnara Yugala*, decorative flower vase, and seated human figures, probably *Yakṣas*-in small niches, just under each Kumbhikā of the pillar. The pillars measuring 9'-00" are square and varying in girth according to zones. The monotony and harshness of contrasts of angles is avoided by receding the angles. This device produces harmoneous mild shadows and gives prominence to horizontal bonds of decorative designs running around the pillar. These recesses run vertically along the whole pillar. Thus the pillars look as if they are octagonal. Each of the pillars is devised into *Kumbhikā* (base) 1'-8", *Stambha* (pillar shaft) 6'-8", and *Bhramaṇa* (abacus) 0'-8" and is in proportion according to traditional regulations.

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[27] Chowdary, S. N., *A Toraṇa at Shamalaji-North Gujarat,* (ed) Shukla, C. M., Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vol. VIII, The M. S. University of Baroda Press, 1959, pp. 39-50

As the column is tapering, the *kumbhikā* is the lofty part of the structure. Due to its weight, it keeps the whole structure in equilibrium. Comparatively, *kumbhikā* is plain except its receding angles and small cornices running horizontally. Each *kumbhikā* has four niches facing four directions with seated *Yakṣa* figures in them. The niches are surmounted by miniature *śikharas* above which the shaft of pillars shows the *Pūrṇa-ghaṭa* motif. The various carving on the *Toraṇa*, the figures in the niches and the spires over them, suggest a date C. 1000 A.D. or a little earlier for this *Toraṇa*. This may also be the age of the temple. In the niches on the wall of the sanctum are figures of *Gaṇas*, Cāmuṇḍa and other forms of Durga which suggest that the shrine was dedicated to some form of Durgā.[28] U.P. Shah suggests a date 1000 A.D. or of a little earlier for this *Toraṇa*.[29]

Toraṇa of Kapadvanj : Kapadvanj is one of the oldest town of Kheda district, situated on the river Mahor, about 40 kms from Nadiad. It is said to date back to the 11th century. According to local history, its original name was Kapaṭapura, or the town of deceit.

The town is surmounted by fort wall with gateways on four sides which are gradually disappearing. A *Toraṇa* or victory arch in Chaulukya style, a *Kuṇḍa* (reservoir) and *Batrīsa-koṭhāvāva* (a step well with 32 apartments), built by *Siddharāja* Jayasiṁha, are fine specimens of architecture.

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[28] *Ibid*

[29] Shah, U. P., *Sculptures from Shamalaji and Roda*, Government Press and Stationary Department, Baroda, 1960, pp. 39-50

The *Toraṇa* at Kapadvanj now stands on the east side of a platform of a *Kuṇḍa*, or reservoir in the market place. It is similar to those at Vadnagar and Siddhapur. Its mouldings and decorations are in some respects identical with those mentioned above but differ mainly in the shape of arches. At Kapadvanj, both the arches, one above the architrave, and other between the two pillars, are triangular with five distinct curves. But there is slight difference between the arches themselves, particularly in the central crowning arch. The Kapadvanj *Toraṇa* is further distinguished from those at Vadnagar and Siddhapur by the inset figures between the small columns on the architrave and by these columns themselves. The central figure here is Śiva, in one of his dancing poses. The figures in the adjoining niches are drummers. The small columns, again, are of slightly different design. There are no dripping, highly carved leaves over the capital of the pillars as are noticed in the pillars at Vadnagar and Siddhapur. For these reasons, the Kapadvanj *Toraṇa* seems to be built in the 12th or 13th century A.D.[30]

Toraṇa of Balej : It is situated 32 kms, south of Porabandar. the village contains a small temple dedicated to the sun. The *Toraṇa* is perhaps one of the rare extant *Toraṇas* in the Peninsula of Saurastra. It stands in front of the pre-Chaulukyan temple. It is very simple except the super-structure which consists of several figures of semi-gods.

In dimension, the *Toraṇa* is small. It consists of two pillars, a lintel and an arch like superstructure over the lintel. The central arch contains a seated figure of Śiva facing east. On the west, it contains a figure of *Devī* (Goddess) with her vehicle buffalo. The arch is flanked by miniature curvilinear spring on either side.[31]

Outside Gujarat, *Toraṇas* have been found at Pathari, in the Gwalior territory; at Rewa, Baghelkhand, near the Galanath temple; Aihole, and at Warangal in the Nizam's dominions.

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[30] Sankalia, p. 84

[31] Sompura, p. 456

Conclusion/Significance

The Solankī kings were great patrons of art. There was prolific and magnificent architectural activity during their regime due to their active support. The dynasty witnessed magnificent monuments with intricate designs. Their architecture had impact in all spheres of life.

Religious significance : *Toraṇas* mainly were built for the temples, so their religious significance is worth noticing. Through the *Toraṇa* we know about the precise deity, to whom, the temple is dedicated to. Solankis were the Saivite, so in most of the *Toraṇas,* the main deity is Śiva. Most of the sculptures that are found on the *Toraṇas*, are of gods or demi-gods. Another major significance was the influence of Hindu temples seen on the Jain temple architecture. The Jain temples have highly decorated small *Toraṇas* in the entrance of their *Sabhā Maṇḍapa* and are also seen on the pillars, a prototype of Solanki *Toraṇas.*

Political significance : Although many of these building undertakings were directly by the Solanki rulers themselves, some of the finer efforts appear to have been due to the patronage of their ministers and their governors who were of Jain faith and used their riches for building Hindu and Jain architecture alike.[32]

Under the Solanki rule, thus, it was not only the rulers who were patronizing but the ministers and governers of different communities were also showing interest for the construction, which indicates religious harmony in the society. The magnificent *Kīrtitoraṇa,* since found without a temple in its vicinity, could have been built for some kind of *Kīrti* of the ruler that is to commemorate the victory over his enemies.

The huge *Toraṇas* with high plinth also indicate the power and supremacy of the rulers. The massive high plinth could also have been used for some kind of platform used to convey the king's order.

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[32] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods)*, (IIIrd ed.) D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Company Private Ltd., Bombay, 1956, p. 143

Economic Significance : A very important fact about the Solanki architecture was that other than the ruler and other ministers, major contribution was the spontaneous expression of the entire community, every individual from the highest to lowest being moved to take a personal interest in their construction. The outstanding archways having religious importance were the pride of the community. The inscription of this time speaks about how the whole community had a material share while constructing these structures. As a beginning, the kings or the ministers used to erect the structures from the substantial grants of money or revenue. Then, after the head men ordered a great assembly on a market day and came to an agreement to set apart for the maintenance of the monuments specially those which were related to religious architecture. All the villagers of different communities were asked to pay taxes in kind of their produce.

The inscription talks about how the cotton producer and the betel leaf producer used to give handful of their product.[33] The collection of these commodities was looked by the ministers by the order of the king. It was a kind of revenue for the preservation of the superstructures. Every member of the populace therefore being identified with this artistic production, such a measure could not fail to implant artistic and aesthetic feeling seen in the monuments.

It was the duty of every household to keep the area near the monuments clean, turn by turn. Thus the whole community was contributing socially and economically in a sort of maintenance tax for the safeguarding of these beautiful monuments of this era.

Social Significance : The *Toraṇa* was not only just fashioned as a gateway, but, it also had social significance of its own. During the festive time, it was used as a *Hiṇḍola* or swing for the gods and goddess of the temple.

The whole *Toraṇa* was decorated with colourful flowers and leaves and was used as a swing. Secondly, again during the festive season or for invoking the god, for merit of some kind to fulfill wishes, or for charity, the *Toraṇas* were used as a swing and the rulers were weighed against gold. The festive season witnessed a social gathering and meeting of different communities. The master-builder or the mason formed an important part of the society. They, with their staff of masons, formed an essential part of the building pattern. Their work was hereditary. They were a separate community and had village of their own. These masons had good knowledge about the mythology, the deities and legends, which they adopted in the construction.[34]

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[33] *Ibid*, p. 144

The *Toraṇas* are found in the various parts of Gujarat, especially in North Gujarat, in a way, indicate the stronghold of the area. They are marvelous and richly ornate and most of them have withstood the different calamities and invasions. They also influenced other contemporary architecture. They are identified as a symbol of Solanki glory and ensure the zenith of its time. Though in stone; they preserve the elements of their wooden prototypes. Rich and lively sculpture adorn the lintels of the archways. It is very wide and so thick that it contains a number of rooms for guards in its wings, and a temple on either side.

Thus on the whole, the *Toraṇas* can be ascribed between 8th to 13th Century A.D., set up in accordance with the traditional cannons of Hindu architecture. They are elegant and unique pieces of art and architecture. The textual effect of their elaborate floral designs of richly wrought pillars and lintel are smooth and soothing in appearance. More important, still, from the designs of the Bamboo gateways, was derived that characteristic Buddhist archway to Solanki *Toraṇa*, a structure which was carried with the religion to the Far East, where as the *torii* of Japan and the *Piu-lu* of China can be related to the *Toraṇa*, the land of its origin.

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[34] *Ibid.*

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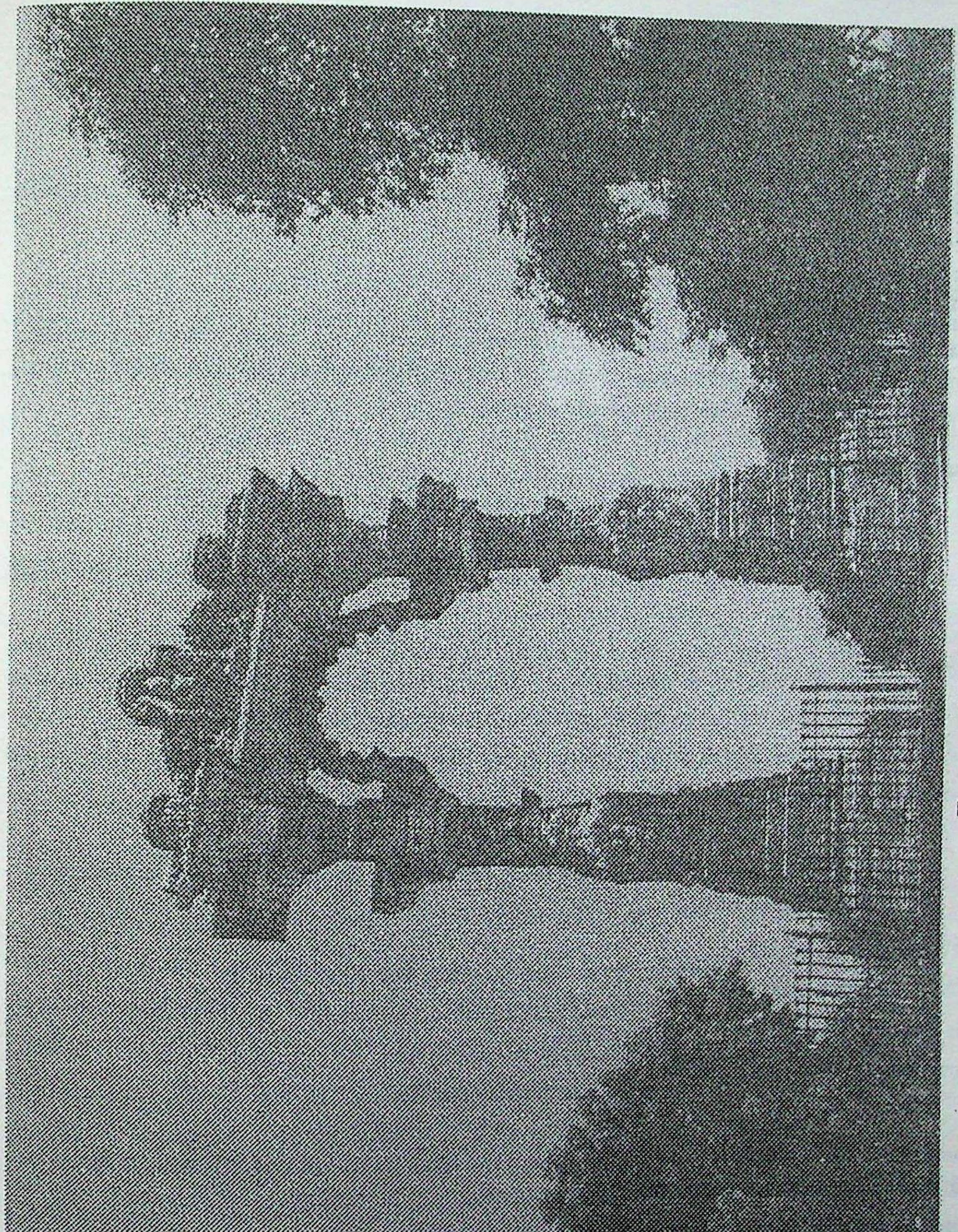

Toraṇa of Vadnagar

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ETHICS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BRAJA KISHORE SWAIN*

Right from the *Ṛg-vedic* times to the present times, the evolution of Indian ethical values is a continuous process which forms a grand uniform tradition, despite local variations in customs.

Ṛg-veda is the foundation head of many of the fundamental moral ideas which took theoretical form in the later literature. *Ṛta* is one of such foundational concepts. It denotes a universal order, both cosmic and moral. Varuṇa is the chief deity who guards *Ṛta* and punishes the transgressors.

Ṛta and Varuṇa are the most prominent in the earlier portions of the *Ṛg-veda* which depict harmonious communal living of Āryans. The sacrificial rituals, which were primarily aimed at fostering *Ṛta* came to be identified with *Ṛta.* As the cosmic and moral order, *Ṛta* is identified with Truth. Thus whatever is false is called *anṛta.* *Ṛta* is ensured by certain communal values like harmony, comradeship, equality, brotherhood, cooperation and collective living.

With the increasing warfare with aboriginal Dasyus, Indra the war-god comes into limelight. Indra supersedes Varuṇa and, along with Varuṇa, *Ṛta* goes into oblivion. Inclusion of Dasyus as the fourth *Varṇa* into the Āryan society witnessed a radical shift in the Āryan religion, economy and world-view. End of warfare and rise of new social order brought creator gods and sustainer gods into prominence. Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Brahman, etc. were projected as creators and sustainers.

In the *Brāhmaṇa* period, priestly class engaged in fabricating detailed and complex rituals. Along with rituals certain moral precepts, principles of social organization,

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and theosophical speculations were developed. The notion of three debts, the concept of *Dharma* as religious duty, Brahman as the origin of all that is, castes and caste duties were all developed in this period. The *Brāhmaṇa* period marks a vital transition from naturalistic religion to theosophical speculation. This intermediary stage witnessed rampant ritualism.

In the *Araṇyakas* we find the beginning of theosophical speculations along with some genuinely philosophical questions. These rudimentary speculations find their culmination in the *Upaniṣads*. Theories of *Ātman, Brahman*, their identity, *Karma*, transmigration and liberation are some of the most important theories of *Upaniṣads*.

The *Upaniṣadic* theories of *Karma*, transmigration, *Ātman* and liberation are the foundational theories which occur in different ways in the Indian schools of thought. These are central to the whole spectrum of Indian ethical thought with varied treatment by the philosophical schools. Thus a proper articulation and development of ethical thought in India owes much to the *Upaniṣads*. Apart from the intellectual exercises, the *Upaniṣads* developed a moral perspective on life. They condemn formal ritualism and insist on knowledge. The *Upaniṣads* crystalized the moral concepts by making them part of their idealist world-view.

The *Sūtra*-period, which can be considered as the most productive period in the history of Indian philosophical literature, made creative use of the fundamental ethical concepts available in the vedic texts. This is the time various philosophical systems arose independent of the vedic influence. Heterodox religions such as Jainism and Buddhism too arose in this period. This period thus witnessed prolific flow of contending theories and views.

The philosphical systems borrowed certain foundational theories like *Karman. Ātman*, transmigration etc. and used them in their own ways to suit their metaphysical and epistemological purposes. However, the original meaning and significance of these ethical concepts is not lost but enriched. This is called *Darśana* period in which the original *Sūtra* literature is expanded and commented upon by eminent exponents of each system.

The most important contribution is made by Smṛtis and Itihāsas in making the original vedic morality and customs popular among Indian masses. They moulded the moral conscience of Indian people by controlling their social and political conduct, and by imbibing the traditional moral ideals deep into their minds.

The Dharmaśāstras were comprehensive in their character in touching the Indian social, legal, political, economic and spiritual life of the people. They claimed their authority in all matters. They derived this authority from that of the Vedas.

The following can be identified, in the light of analysis, as the foundations of Indian Ethics :

Ordered moral universe
Retributive moral action
Eternal moral agent
Transmigratory moral career
Possibility of Emancipation
Authority of the Veda
Immutable moral virtues
Fusion of Ethics and Metaphysics
Religion as a vehicle of change
Secular life.

Indian mind conceived an ordered moral universe in which everything material and non-material has its place. *Ṛta* as cosmic and moral order expresses itself through the workings of natural phenomena and the conduct of men. What is really noteworthy here is that there is no dichotomy between 'fact and value' or 'is and ought'. There is only one order which sustains, 'is' and promulgates 'ought'.

The western paradigm of 'fact-value' dichotomy not only deprives all values of their cognitive content but also deprives facts of their inherent value. This is a double tragedy.

The logical positivist, taking 'is-ought' distinction to its heights, stripped the world of all values and made all values mere matters of taste or arbitrary choice. Values are thus made non-cognitive and of no justification. Hence the ethical world is rendered impossible. Emotivism conceives no ethical world but offers a mere possibility of choice of taste. This impossibility of an ordered ethical universe is due to its estrangement from cognitive world. Thus, the fact-value dichotomy deprives us of an order of moral world.

On the other hand, this dichotomy deprives us of even the physical world. The theory of value-neutral world made up of atomic facts denies Nature and any regard for it. Nature is a mere mechanistic soul-less automation. According to the new creed of scientism, human and social development depends on how effectively we can manipulate the natural laws and exploit it. We achieved tremendous industrial development but at the cost of environmental and ecological balance. The scientistic inductionist world-view which puts man outside Nature as its master, considers Nature as devoid of reason and intelligence. The culmination of this world-view can be seen in the environmental crisis the world is facing today.

Any world-view which undermines the organic relationship between Man and Nature and fails to see the meaningful order in Nature is bound to miss the essential ethical significance of the nature. Our relation to the nature is not mechanical nor one of master and slave, but an ethically organic one.

In this context of loss of both moral and physical worlds, *Ṛta* is still relevant as an alternative model of man-nature relationship. Man and Nature form part of a greater order which expresses itself in and through nature in the physical realm and man in the moral realm. Indeed, there are no two separate realms but a unified physically moral or morally physical realm.

The notion or ordered universe finds its later expression in *Dharma* which replaced *Ṛta*. *Dharma* is more sophisticated rational ethical order which included man-action-destiny in its fold. *Dharma* as the ethical order rationally explains man's condition-past, present and future-in terms of his own actions and character the ethical nucleus of *Dharma*. *Dharma* as the essential quality of a thing refers to order in physical realm and as the duty of man or as object of human pursuit has moral ramifications. *Dharma* is the order of not only material but also social and ethical reality.

Though Indian systems differed as to the nature of action, its mode of fruition and process of transmigration, they accepted *Dharma* as an inviolable ethical order. *Dharma* is more comprehensive than *Ṛta* in its appeal and covers all the spheres-social, religious and spiritual of human life.

What is common to both *Ṛta* and *Dharma* is their autonomy. In the case of *Ṛta*, it is not guided by gods, rather it guides them. *Ṛta* is not born of gods but gods are born of *Ṛta*. The gods are only guardians or functionaries of *Ṛta* which is an eternal autonomous order. If we substitute gods with natural phenomena (gods are only deified natural phenomena), or if we strip the natural phenomena off deification, we have a quite naturalistic autonomous order.

Again, *Dharma* too does not require a theistic agency for appropriation of results to actions. As *Mīmāṁsakas* show, actions generate a new quality (*apūrva*) in the subject which leads to future consequences. Or as the *Saṅkhyas* hold, every action brings about change in the three *guṇas* which give objective results at a later time. The Buddhist notion of every moment giving thrust to a new moment and the theory that the new moment contains all that is there in the past moment rejects the need of any personal god for an action to accrue its consequences. Thus, even *Dharma* can be well conceived as an autonomous order without any need for external interference. In this sense *Dharman* is a secular universe of moral action.

The idea of an autonomous, rational and objective moral order which meaningfully explains human condition and destiny, is the strongest foundation of Indian ethics. At no point of time, Indian mind could conceive a chaotic or arbitrary moral realm. The ordered moral universe is the hallmark and surest foundation of Indian ethics.

Moral retribution or fitting consequences to every action is another ethical idea on which the Indian ethical theories build their systems. It constitutes the core of *Dharma*, the objective ethical order. The theory of *Karma* conceives a morally fitting consequence or atonement for every action. No action goes without consequence : this is the inviolable law of *Karma.*

There are certain older beliefs which contend the law of *Karma.* One of such is the belief that father's sin passes down to son. This older belief in heritage of sin or transfer of sin appears to be founded on equating sin with material liability or property. The belief that son is only extension of father also seems to support this view. However, this does not seriously hinder later theories based on *Karma*. This view is not supported by philosophical systems.

Another exception is expiatory rights. Certain expiatory rituals are prescribed to avoid the consequences of certain actions. This appears to be not in tune with *Karma.* However, as rites are also actions they can be viewed to counter balance the consequences of the original action. Agian, repentance as suffering atones the suffering and substitutes future suffering. The subjective intention or will always characterizes an action and thus repentance and expiation can said to be effective.

The third belief which goes against *Karma* is divine grace. The theistic understanding of God as merciful and benevolent leads to the notion of saving grace. However, the atheistic schools did not approve such notions and thus this belief is not universal.

The knowledge of *Brahman* is supposed to burn one's action and effect final release. This view also appears to swerve the law of *Karma*. However, given the role of intention in an action, one who identifies one's self with the universal self ceases to be the agent of action. Thus one is not bound by present and future actions. However, the past actions *Sañcita Karma* have to get fruition and thus one has to experience the world till one's *Sañcita Karma* gets exhausted.

Two ways or paths of action are given : *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti Mārga*. In *Pravṛtti Mārga* one involves oneself in all material actions and physical life and takes responsibility thereof. One strives for active life within the moral frame work. *Nivṛtti Mārga* is renouncing active life by avoiding *Kāmya Karmas* or desired actions. In this path, one undertakes or performs an action but only as a duty. One is not interested in the consequences and thus not bound by them. So he accrues neither merit nor sin. This leads to freedom or *Mokṣa*.

As to the casual efficacy of an action and as to how an action leads to consequences in the future, being separated by time, *Mīmāṁsakas* offer the theory of *apūrva*, the potency which comes out of performing an action. This potency resides in self and attracts fitting result at a future time.

Sometimes, *adṛṣṭa* or unseen force is assumed (by some *Naiyāyikas*) to discharge results for an action in the future. Buddhists conceive that every moment thrusts another moment and the new moment carries all that is there in the previous moment. Hence, an action performed is not extinguished but is carried till its fruition. Actions also leave dispositions which go long way and determine one's character.

Sāṅkhyas too have an explanation that an action brings change in the combination of *guṇas* according to the nature of the action. The disturbance or imbalance caused by an action continues till the consequences are accrued.

The theists interfere god's role as one who accords results according to the narure of action. But this divine interference is not accepted by many systems. *Dharma* is viewed as an autonomous moral order and action is independently efficacious.

Another foundational concept in Indian ethical tradition is an eternal moral agent. The individual self or soul is considered as agent and this agent is eternal. The self only changes bodies but continues to exist to reap the fruits of past actions.

Hence, the self as an eternal moral agent has eternal moral career, with possibility of regeneration or degeneration or absolute freedom.

The self is conditioned by its own actions and takes up new bodies according the nature of its earlier actions. The self, though cannot transgress the law of *Karma*, however, has freedom to change dispositions through intentional efforts and can improve upon its moral career.

Soul's bondage to action and its results is due to its taking responsibility as the doer and enjoyer. This constitutes agency of action. *Mokṣa* consists in soul realising its own nature and abandoning the responsibility as an agent. This is not moral irresponsibility but being relieved from egocentric activity. This is neither negative indifference but positive self-denial in action.

The philosophical systems differ as to nature of self but all of them accept role of self as an agent in action.

The repeated births and cycles of life are considered as the moral career of the soul. Thus retributive action and eternal soul lead to transmigratory life of the soul. This is called *saṁsāra* or bondage from which liberation is sought. In liberation the individual self ceases only in the sense of its undifferentiated identity or merger with the universal self.

Transmigratory moral career appears to be a vicious circle that each life invariably leads to another. In order to explain actions in a single life, an eternal series of lives is assumed both in the past and future. There appears to be no beginning for this transmigratory life or *Saṁsāra*. If there was a beginning, what caused that beginning ? How the self came to be associated with bodies ?

As knowledge causes release from bondage, the cause of bondage should be its opposite. Of course, yes. Nescience or *Avidyā* is the root cause of this bondage. Due to ignorance, the soul gets bound to body. This is accepted by almost all the systems of thought. Each school claims that knowledge of their own system releases the self from bondage. This claim exhibits the emancipatory zeal of Indian thought. Sometimes the ideal of *Mokṣa* is grafted on systems whether it suits them or not.

Whether the eternality of soul and its transmigratory life can be metaphysically justified or not, they have immense significance in moral explanation and endorse ethical discipline. Their practical use is, beyond doubt, worthy of appreciation.

Even Buddhism accepts transmigration though it does not accept an enduring self. This fact lays bear the ethical significance of the concept in moral explanation.

What is more interesting is that the theory entails drastic social consequences. The *Upaniṣads* and *Smṛti* conceive that one's birth in a particular caste is due to one's actions in past life. Thus, transmigration has its social ramifications. *Smṛtis* enforce specific duties and restrictions for each caste. The institution of caste allows lesser social mobility and one has to endure throughout life the miseries entailed by one's accidental birth in a particular caste.

The theory of transmigration is thus used to justify the institution of caste morally. However, scope is given for moral regeneration. The exercise of free will and intentional development of faculties brought upliftment in caste hierarchy. At different places, different castes dominate the social structure.

The theory of transmigration does not preclude the exercise of free will and moral development. Though caste system was stringent, we find many movements against this institution. Right from Buddhism and Jainism to *Vīraśaivism* and *Brāhmo Samāja*, the anti-caste element played a pivotal role.

Another foundation of Indian ethics is possibility of liberation or emancipation, whether it is called *Mokṣa, Kaivalya* or *Nirvāṇa*. This idea of *Mokṣa* has theosophical and mystical moorings but influenced the Indian ethical thought as the highest ideal.

The ultimate ideal of *Mokṣa* is supposed to be achieved through *Vairāgya* and *Sannyāsa*. However, *Gītā* offers multitude of paths to this ultimate good of Hindu moral life. One can follow a method which is suitable to one. *Karma Mārga*-the path of action, *Bhakti Mārga* – the path of devotion and *Jñāna Mārga* – the path of knowledge are the three main paths to reach the ultimate goal. The peculiarity of *Gītā* lies in its merging *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti mārga* and in its positively active view of life.

Despite the mystical leaning, *Mokṣa* served as an ethical ideal which entails moral perfection as a prime prerequisite. The prescribed practical side of *Mokṣa* includes *Vairāgya* (disinterest), *Śama* (equanimity), *Dama* (restraint), *Uparati* (rejection of formalism), *Titikṣā* (endurance), *Śraddhā* (faith) and *Samādhi* (concentration). One has to cultivate these qualities or attitudes through *Śravaṇa* (hearing) *Manana* (cogitation) and *Nididhyāsana* (contemplation) of the emancipatory message of scriptures and master.

One has to practice *Yamas* and *Niyamas* to make oneself fit for the end. *Yamas* include *Ahiṁsā* (non-injury), *Satya* (truth), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Brahmacarya* (continence), *Aparigraha* (obstinence from avarice). *Niyamas* include *Śauca* (cleanliness). *Santoṣa* (contentment), *Tapas* (penance), *Svādhyāya* (study) and *Īśvara Praṇidhāna* (devoion to God). Apart from this, *Āsana* (posture) and *Prāṇāyāma* (breath control) are prescribed to gain control over mind and body.

Imagine what kind of a moral being is made if one strictly practices the requisite discipline of *Mokṣa*. Such an individual can never act immorally and he is free from evil. What else need any ideal achieve than this ? Thus, irrespective of its origin and development and its theoritical justification, *Mokṣa* held sway over Indian conscience as the ideal the way to which is itself moral excellence. Even if one fails to achieve *Mokṣa*, one would certainly achieve higher moral discipline by just making *Mokṣa* as one's end.

Dharma, Artha, Kāma and *Mokṣa* are universally accepted as four objects of human pursuit. Except Cārvākas who accept only *Artha* and *Kāma* as human goals, the whole Indian ethical thought is unanimous about the fourfold objects of human endeavours.

These four *Puruṣārthas* make one's life an integrated whole and commendable. *Dharma* is the fundamental *Puruṣārtha* which should run throughout the other pursuits. Wealth and pleasures have to be achieved within the limits of morality and as we have seen *Dharma* is a prerequisite for *Mokṣa*. If other pursuits are attained without *Dharma*, they fail to be acceptable.

For example, corruption political or economical is bad because wealth is pursued outside *Dharma*. Corruption is pursuit of a secondary goal without adhering to the primary goal of morality. It is transgression of bounds of duty.

Similarly, prostitution is bad because *Kāma* is pursued outside the ligitimate social institution for sex i.e., family. *Dharma* thus includes the attitudes, institutions and actions to which conformity is sought in pursuit of the rest of human goals.

To those who criticise Indian ethics as pessimistic, it should be reminded that we have not only *Dharma* and *Mokṣa Śāstras* but also *Artha* and *Kāma Śāstras*. The Indian aesthetics, architecture, sculpture, dance and other art forms show that sensuality is never undermined but is an integral part of Indian life. Even temples depict sensuous life and literature is abounding with it. *Manusmṛti* says that the four pursuits have to be accomplished for a meaningfully complete life. Reclusion is not common order but is limited to a small renounced group.

The *Sādhāraṇa Dharma* of universal moral principles form the basis of society and they are always regarded high. The discriminative caste duties have become redundant in modern India except their informal relics in the rural areas. Still, negative caste discrimination is being fought out by the liberal youth of India. The virtues of non-violence, truth, self-control, contentment etc. are valued high even today.

Another hallmark of Indian thought is the fusion between metaphysics and ethics. This is true even from the ancient times. The metaphysical and ethical ideas are fused together to form a unified system of the universe. "Truth" is both metaphysical and ethical for Indian mind. Real, ethical and rational are always considered as one and any diversity is not acceptable. Nothing can be rational if it is not ethical. Similarly anything non-ethical cannot be "true". This unity of ethical, real and rational is a rare phenomenon in the west where ethical concerns are viewed apart.

Another major mark of Indian ethics is its association with religious practices. Many of the ethical insights are put to practice in the form of religious customs. However, some of them became superstitions when their original meaning is lost. Through universal literacy programmes and adult education, the superstitutions are being fought.

It is more peculiar that instead of religions being advocates of conservatism and formalism, religions in India are vehicles of change. Buddhism and Jainism gained ground mainly due to their opposition to excessive ritualism, violence, caste and other forms of social oppression. Not only aristocrats but common men and women strengthened these religions.

Vaiṣṇavism rejected ritualism and insisted on devotional self-denial and spread the message of love for all. Vīraśaivism fought against caste system and universalisation of religious privileges.

Brāhmo-Samāja and *Ārya-Samāja* disseminated the ideals of overcoming superstitious beliefs and aberrations in Hindu system. New ideals of secularism and nationalism are promoted through these religious sects. Humanism is advocated in the place of ritualism and universal faith is sought to replace religious fanatism.

The study of Indian ethical thought offers us a proper understanding of our present and to formulate our future goals. The values and virtues cherished in our tradition give us an identity and the cultural heritage should not be lost at any cost.

The ethical categories and concepts, when understood in their origin and evolution provide us with better abilities to understand our present moral predicament. To understand and analyse our present form of life, these ethical categories should be creatively employed.

We can always critically evaluate our notions and concepts with a view to developing them to suit our times and pruposes. One does not become conservative by using native concepts and categories nor does one become modern by borrowing foreign ideas. What matters most is how rational and critical we are in understanding our reality and how can we foster the quality of our thought and life without courting contradictions and paradoxes.

It is sincerely hoped that this humble effort to explicate the fundamental notions in Indian thought as well as in Sanskrit literature help, to whatever extent, further studies in the field and open up new debates for critical development of Indian ethics.

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SANSKRIT PROSODY, LINGUISTICS & MUSIC

SATYAMURTI*

1. Introduction

Sanskrit is the most unique language of the world. It is not merely a language but the testimony of our rich Indian linguistic tradition. It is the most powerful living medium of the manifestation of the ancient Indian wisdom. It is the repository of the rich cultural heritage of India. It also enjoys the pivotal position in the study of comparative philology and other dimensions of Indology.

Sir William Jones, the renowned orientalist and the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has truly said - "The Sanskrit Language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either......".[1]

What are the prime characteristics of the Sanskrit Language which make it the most unique one among all the language of the world whether classical or modern ? What is the magnetic element in this language which is incessantly attracting the West for using it as a bridge language and ultimately paving the way to make an artificial language ?

This is a modest endeavor not just to answer these questions but also to highlight those linguistic features of the Sanskrit Language by dint of which it becomes quite suitable for prosody and music.

2. Prosody and Music :

Prosody means the set of rules for arranging the pattern of sounds and beats in poetry.[2] Prosody infuses the musical elements in poetry. The significance of prosody

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[1] Quoted by R. H. Robins : *A Short History of Linguistics*, P. 134.

[2] The *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, P. 171.

is revealed by the fact that the most ancient scripture of the world, i.e. the *Ṛgveda* is written in prosodic form. Even the first exposition of the classical Sanskrit Literature in the form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also written in metres. The first classical metre i.e. *anuṣṭup* is also emerged with the outburst of the sorrows of the sage Vālmīki generated by the heart rendering cries of the female *krauñca* bird at the brutal killing of the male *krauñca* bird by the hunter :-

"मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ।।"[3]

Not just the literary texts, but the texts of science, medicine, astrology, astronomy, dramatics, poetics, lexicography, erotics, philosophy etc. are also written in poetry with the use of appropriate metres.

What led our ancestors to express the various streams of knowledge primarily through the medium of poetry written in different metres ? Why did they not usually choose prose in their works which is supposed to be easier to be written ? In fact, our ancestors had to propagate their priceless intellect in an era where there was no system of documentation due to lack of printing techniques. The traditional wisdom was transmitted from one generation to another generation just by ear. It is easy to remember the information's expressed in prosodic form. It becomes easier to learn a verse especially when it is set to some musical composition just as it becomes easier to swallow bitter pills when some honey is added into it.

In this regard, it would be appropriate to mention here that the Vedic hymns were sung with the use of musical accent, i.e. उदात्त, अनुदात्त and स्वरित.[4] Initially only three notes were developed out of the seven basic notes of music and Vedic hymns used to be sung by using these three notes with proper intonation according to the arrangement of उदात्त, अनुदात्त and स्वरित vowels. It is also to be noted that there was no liberty in changing the accent-pattern in syllabus. Otherwise, entire effect of the hymn would be different as the hymn might give a different sense altogether.[5] In the Vedic language, the musical accent was used to change the meaning especially of the compound words (समस्तपद).[6]

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[3] The *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa*-2/15.

[4] भाषाविज्ञान एवं भाषाशास्त्र, पृ. 427.

[5] "मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ।।" -*Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*, Verse 52.

Though there were different styles of Vedic-Chanting but the traditional style of Vedic-Chanting prevailing especially in south India is worth mentioning here. If we meticulously observe this style of Vedic-chanting, we find that the three notes used in this are the notes of the *Rāga Bairāgī Bhairava*, a meditative melody of the early morning hours. It is an interesting fact that our Vedic seers used the notes of *Rāga Bairāgī Bhairava* which is not just suitable for creating a meditative mood but also for arousing the sentiment of वैराग्य i.e. non-attachment-which is echoing in every aspect of Indian ethos. By modifying the tune, if we use more than three notes of this pentatonic melody, then the complete structure of the *Rāga* can be established.

3. Linguistic Characteristics of Sanskrit

The linguistic characteristics of the Sanskrit Language, which facilitate the prosodic expression and infuse musical elements in it are as follows :

3.1 Liberty in syntax - In most of the languages of the world, there is a fixed format of sentences. For example, it is 'Subject + Verb + Object ' format in English and if we change the syntax, the sentence might give a different meaning. The sentence 'Rāma killed Rāvaṇa' is absolutely different from the sentence 'Rāvaṇa killed Rāma' as far as their meanings are concerned. In fact, this is also the basic property of the isolating or inorganic languages of the world.[7] But, in Sanskrit, usually there is no fixed format. If we juxtapose different words, there would be no change in the meaning. The sentence 'रामः रावणं हतवान् ' can be written in six different ways with different permutations and combinations and every time we would have the same meaning. It is quite challenging to develop such softwares when sentences from one language with certain syntactical structure are to be translated in an another language with different syntactical structure. The linguists say that the task would be easier if we use Sanskrit as a bridge language between the two languages. This is feasible only becuase the syntactical structure of a sentence in Sanskrit is not fixed.

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[6] *A Vedic Grammar for students*, pp. 454-5.

[7] भाषाविज्ञान एवं भाषाशास्त्र, पृ. 360.

This liberty in syntax is useful in prosody also. We can arrange words of a Sanskrit sentence according to the rhythmic pattern of a particular prosody. For example, a teacher has to ask his student who is late in the class-"O ! where are you coming from ? Tell the reason behind the delay." He might use sentence in Sanskrit as भोः ! त्वं कुतः अत्र आगतः विलम्बस्य कारणं वद । If we rearrange the words of this sentence according to the rules of पञ्चचामर छन्द, the sentence becomes rhythmic and beautiful-

त्वमागतः कुतोऽत्र भोः, विलम्बकारणं वद ।

Now this sentence can easily be set to *Dādrā Tāla*, i.e. 6 beats rhythmic cycle. The rhythm of पञ्चचामर छन्द became so popular that even Hindi poets like Jayashankar Prasad have used it in their poetry :- "हिमाद्रि तुङ्गशृंङ्ग से....."

3.2 Excessive recursiveness -

Recursiveness is a unique creative property of human language which enables sentences to be formed inside another sentences. Because of recursiveness, with the use of limited words we have unlimited expressions. This property is quite similar to the property of catenation mentioned in organic chemistry. Human language may, therefore, be called an open-ended system.[8]

The Sanskrit Language has excessive recursiveness. Even a very small sentence of Sanskrit can be elaborated in a paragraph not just by adding subsentences but by using numerous adjectives and compound words into it also. The following verse is a befitting example of this :

कर्पूरगौरं करुणावतारं संसारसारं भुजगेन्द्रहारम् ।
सदा वसन्तं हृदयारविन्दे भवं भवानीसहितं नमामि ।।[9]

Here, ' भवं नमामि ' (I adore Śiva) is the basic sentence and rest are mere adjectives by which a long verse is composed. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa are brimming with such instances.

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[8] *Modern Linguistics*, P. 2.

[9] Traditional verse.

In composing a verse, this property of the Sanskrit language helps especially when there is short of words. Sometimes a poet deliberately uses prefix (उपसर्ग) and निपात just for completing the metre though these prefixes etc. usually do not carry any meaning in the verse. In this way, recursiveness may be used just for completing the metres.

3.3 Generative Grammar -

The Sanskrit grammar is descriptive as well as generative. It means that we use not only those words which are either pre-existent in the literature or coming through convention, but we can also form new words by following certain set of rules. Therefore, we can form number of words just from one root. For example with the use of different suffixes in a common adjective 'गुरु' we can form several abstract nouns like गुरुत्व, गुरुता, गौरव, गरिमा etc. of the same meaning. Similarly, we can form the words भोज, भोजन, भुक्ति etc. from the common root भुज्.

Forming various words from common root with the help of generative grammar gives us various options while composing a poetry and we can choose the word which can fit into the rhythmic pattern of the prosody. In fact, various synonyms of one word also give the same kind of liberty in poetry. We can use भोज instead of भोजन if prosody permits so. Similarly, due to abundance of synonyms, we can use ख or नभ in place of गगन if smaller word is needed in the prosody.

3.4 Redundancy of auxiliary verbs -

Unlike English and Hindi, the auxiliary verbs are not '*sine que non*' i.e. essential requirement of Sanskrit sentences. Their use is optional and most of the time they are omitted. We can examine the following sentences of similar meaning.

English - Who are you ?

हिन्दी – तुम कौन हो ?

संस्कृतम् – कस्त्वम् ?

It is obvious here that redundancy of auxiliary verbs infuses not only brevity in the language but also gives us options either to use or not to use the auxiliary verbs according to the rhythmic pattern of the poetry. A very beautiful example from of

Śaṅkarāchārya can be cited here :

"कस्त्वं कोऽहं कुत आयातः का मे जननी को मे तातः ।"

We find no use of auxiliary verb in this verse and we have sufficient words to arrange in a prosodic format.

3.5 Abundance of syllabic consonants न् & म् -

One of the most unique features of Sanskrit is it's beautiful phonetics. Sanskrit literature is interspersed with two consonants i.e. न् & म् in abundant measure. The main reason behind this feature is the declension of Sanskrit language. Whether it is nominative case, accusative case (कर्मकारक), instrumental case (करणकारक), dative case (सम्प्रदानकारक) or ablative case (अपादानकारक), these two consonants are usually found.

If we see न् and म् with the linguistic view point, we find them to be sonant and syllabic. These work as independent phonemes for making a syllable. This characteristic brings these two consonants quite near to vowels in nature. We can pronounce them a little bit independently as compared to the other consonants.[10] It helps in musical compositions also while reciting a verse. Their nasal character does not just give pleasant effect in musical compositions but it also helps in humming when mouth is shut. Some of the basic nuances of Indian classical music like *meend, murki, taan* etc. are easily possible on these consonants which are usually used on vowels. These nuances of music are also possible on two more consonants र् and ल्. These two consonants are having very close characteristics if we do the comparative study of Avesta and Vedic language.[11]

In fact, न्, म्, र् and ल् all are having attributes of consonants as well as of vowels and consonants they are dubbed in a common category of semi vowels (अन्तस्थ) in primitive Indo European Language.[12] The use of *meend, murki* etc. can be shown on the following verses.

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[10] भाषाविज्ञान एवं भाषाशास्त्र, पृ. 190.

[11] संस्कृत का भाषाशास्त्रीय अध्ययन, पृ. 109.

[12] भाषाविज्ञान एवं भाषाशास्त्र, पृ. 381.

(a) "ब्रह्मानन्दं परमसुखदं केवलं ज्ञानमूर्तिम् ।"[13]
(b) "गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्, गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।।"[14]

4. Unique Features of Sanskrit Prosody

There are some special features of Sanskrit prosody which make it intrinsically musical. These are as follows :

4.1 Attractive rhythmic patterns -

The Sanskrit literature is brimming over with beautiful metres having very attractive rhythmic patterns. *Pramāṇikā, Pañcacāmāra, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Dodhaka* and *Toṭaka* are some of the metres with simple rhythmic patterns.

(a) *Pañcacāmara* - "सुनीलनीरजद्वयं प्रदीप्तदीपकद्वयम्
अजस्रमश्रुपूरितं कलत्रनेत्रयोर्युगम् ।....."[15]

(b) *Bhujaṅgaprayāta* - "नमामीशमीशाननिर्वाणरूपं,
विभुं व्यापकं ब्रह्मवेदस्वरूपम् ।....."[16]

(c) *Dodhaka* - "वाञ्छसि रे सततं यदि हर्षं मा परिभावय भारतवर्षम् ।....."[17]

All of these verses are having rhythmic patterns base on the multiple of two. Therefore, even a layman can enjoy the rhythm.

4.2 Close Relation between Metre & Sentiment

Sanskrit metres are closely associated with the sentiment of the compositions. On one hand, a poet uses *Pañcacamāra, Dodhaka* etc. for (sentiment of valour) and on the other hand, the uses *Vasantatilakā. Śikhariṇī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Mandākrāntā* for (erotic sentiment). Various types of rhythmic patterns help in arousing different kinds of sentiments and a good musician is also expected to use appropriate *Rāgas* to nurture the sentiment. One verse from the *Meghadūtam* is worth mentioning here, where the young *Yakśiṇī* is pining in pangs of separation from his beloved and trying to sing some song in the name of her beloved but she forgets the *murchanas* though made by herself and she is unable to play her *vīṇā* as her tears are spread on the strings of the vīṇā :-

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[13] Traditional verse.
[14] Traditional verse.
[15] Self-composed.
[16] *The Rāmacaritamānasa.*
[17] Self-composed.

> "उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणां,
> मद्गोत्राङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
> तन्त्रीमार्द्रां नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथञ्चिद्,
> भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ।।"[18]

4.3 Sanskrit prosody is full of rhymes.

With the use of different figures of speech based on words (शब्दालङ्कार), a poet creates rhyme in his poetry. अनुप्रास, and यमक पुनरुक्तवदाभास are some of the important figures of speech which are used to generate rhyme in poetry. The following example is supporting the fact :

> स एवमेव चिन्तयन् जगाम भामिनीपतिः,
> विरक्तरक्तरक्तिमा रिरङ्क्षते रणाङ्गणम् ।।[19]

4.4 Letters are judiciously used to support the sentiment

A good poet always uses appropriate letters in his poetry keeping sentiment in mind. For sentiment of valour (वीर) or disgust (बीभत्स), hard letters especially महाप्राण & घोष are used, but for शृंगार and करुण, soft letters are used.[20] For example, Jayadev has used usually soft letters in the *Gītagovindam* for the exposition of शृङ्गार–

> 'ललितलवङ्गलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे ।
> मधुकरनिकरकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुञ्जकुटीरे ।।'[21]

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[18] *The Meghadūta, Uttaramegha*-26.

[19] Self-composed.

[20] This fact is also mentioned in the '*Kāvyādarśa*' of Daṇḍī especially in the first chapter.

[21] Quoted by Pushpa Gupta in the : संस्कृत साहित्य का विशद इतिहास , on p. 115.

4.5 Provision of pause (*yati*) within a line-

Sanskrit verses usually consist of four lines which are called *pāda* or *caraṇa.* The pause given in each *pāda* is known as *yati. Yati* is very useful from the view-point of music. It gives a singer proper gap to breathe. Even an accompanying instrumentalist can play a small filler piece not just to fill the gap but also to beautify the musical composition.

It would be appropriate to mention here that only in the Sanskrit literature, the definitions of different metres are made in such a manner that for the provision of counting beats (मात्रा) for *yati*, names of popular things are given to denote different numbers. For example, seven number is denoted by सप्तर्षि, सप्तलोक or seven horses of the sun God.[22]

4.6 Liberty in rhythmic patterns of simple metres like *anuṣṭup* or *śloka* -

The Sanskrit literature has some metres like *śloka* where prosodic rules are not very strict and even a novice can compose verses in the *śloka-chanda.* Only because of the simplicity of this metre, the Sanskrit Literature is enriched with two great epics-the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* This metre is used in the maximum works of the Sanskrit Literature.

4.7 Liberty to create new metres-

Apart from classical metres one can create new metres according to need just as a musician invents new *rāgas* and *tālas* which are never used earlier.

After mentioning some of the features of the Sanskrit prosody, there would be no exaggeration in saying that these features make Sanskrit verses intrinsically musical and without much effort, we can introduce *Khayāl* style of Indian classical music on Sanskrit verses also. A Sanskrit verse in *Khayāl* style of music is being demonstrated here which is set to ten *tāla* in *rāga Haṁsadhvani* :-

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[22] "सूर्याश्वैर्यदि मः सजौ सततगाः शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ।" is the definition of शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

***Sthāyī* (from 9th beat i.e. *Khālī*)**

कर्पूरगौरं करुणावतारं,
संसारसारं भुजगेन्द्रहारम् ।

9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
कर्	ऽ	पू	र	गौ	ऽ	रं	ऽ	क	रु	णा	व	ता	ऽ	रं	ऽ
नि	–	नि	सां	नि	ऽ	प	ग	पग	ग	ग	प	रे	ऽ	सा	ऽ
सं	ऽ	सा	र	सा	ऽ	रं	ऽ	भु	ज	गेन्	द्र	हा	ऽ	रम्	ऽ
नि़	प़	सा	नि़	गरे	ऽ	रे	ऽ	ग	ग	ग	प	रे	ऽ	सा	ऽ

***Antarā* (from 13th beat)**

सदा वसन्तं हृदयारविन्दे,
भवं भवानीसहितं नमामि ।।

13	14	15	16	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
स	दा	ऽ	व	सन्	ऽ	तं	ऽ	हृ	द	या	र	विन्	ऽ	दे	ऽ
पग	प	ऽ	प	सां	ऽ	सां	ऽ	नि	नि	निप	प	सां	ऽ	नि	ऽ
भ	वं	ऽ	भ	वा	ऽ	नी	ऽ	स	हि	तं	न	मा	ऽ	मि	ऽ
नि	नि	ऽ	सां	नि	प	प	ग	ग	ग	ग	प	रे	ऽ	सा	ऽ

Conclusion-

Now it can easily be concluded that Sanskrit prosody and music are associated with each other like body and soul. The musical elements in Sanskrit prosody are generated mainly by its marvelous linguistic features, especially its phonetics. The Sanskrit prosody is a unique amalgam of science & aesthetics. Not only a common man but even the philologists and connoisseurs of music and literature are flabbergasted by the grandeur and grace of the most ancient natural language and which is still a living language i.e. Sanskrit, William Shakespeare has truly said in the "Twelfth Night-" If music be the food of love, play on, play on. We say that if singing Sanskrit be the food of soul, go on, go on.

"जयतु संस्कृतं जयतु भारतम् ।"

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ŚIKṢĀPATRĪ - AN ESSENCE OF ETHICAL KNOWLEDGE

KARTIK PANDYA*

Śikṣā means advice or knowledge, given out of love and *patrī* means something that can be carried with. Hence *Śikṣāpatrī*[1] is the epistle of precepts or is the Book of Commandments. It was written by Swami Sahajanand (1781-1830 A.D.) on the fifth day of the first half on the month of *Māgha* in *Saṁvat* 1882. *Śikṣāpatrī* contains the gist of all our prominent scriptural texts, depicting ethical knowledge[2]. It is written in simple, lucid and clear linguistic style. It gives equal importance to moral as well as ethical aspects of human life. It lays more stress on improving and upgrading mental set up and behavioural pattern of men and women of society. It does not teach abstract philosophical criteria nor give importance to the metaphysical speculations and discussions. Being concise and precise in teaching, it is certainly more convincing and appealing to a large number of people. It is simple yet essential to the human values and virtues leading to the well being of the society as a whole.

There was a great political and social crisis in Gujarat in the early 19th Century. During this period, people were misled and misguided by the so-called religious leaders called *karmakāṇḍīs*. The condition of women was most deplorable. A few Brahmins dominated the masses in matters of religion. Gross superstition, atrocities, immoral deeds and looting were the order of the day. The standard of life was extremely low. When men and women were groping in darkness of ignorance, Swami Sahajanand beaconed the light of true knowledge and noble virtues. He strove to eradicate evil customs and traditions and uproot false beliefs and superstitions from the mind of

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1. *Śikṣāpatrī* of Swami Sahajanand, Edited by Shastri Krushnaswarupdas (Gujarati), Vadtal Swaminarayan Temple, Vadtal-India, 1976.

2. सच्छास्त्राणां समुद्धृत्य सर्वेषां सारमात्मना ।
पत्रीयं लिखिता नृणामभीष्टफलदायिनी ।। *Śikṣāpatrī*, 204

people, belonging to different state of society. He talked to them explaining the significance of living good life devoid of violence, immortality, hypocrisy, baseless belief in ghosts, goblins and evil spirits. He also provided them basic amenities like food, clothes and shelter.

He attempted to bring about some social reforms by removing evil customs, by simplifying complex religious rituals and by inculcating the importance of forming good habits, keeping affable company, performing benevolent deeds and spreading harmony, peace and integrity in the society. In this way, he has epitomized the prominent moral, ethical and spiritual hallmarks meant for the betterment of social structure. By his exalted spiritual magnificence, universal love and kindness to all souls, he undertook to remove the miseries and woes of all human being and animals.

Swami Sahajanand not only well organized the religious school of Svāminārāyaṇa but also laid down some essential principles to be followed by the preachers as well as the followers through his learned discourses compiled as *Vacanāmṛta* (or nectar-like speeches) delivered at different places and occasion. He established his own *Sampradāya* (sect) which holds *Bhakti* in strict pursuance of UDDHAVA. Svāminārāyaṇa Sampradāya believes in *Dharma*, *Bhakti* (devotion) and *Vairāgya* (renunciation). In his *Śikṣāpatrī*, he has briefly yet skillfully advised the people to improve and ennoble their personal, domestic, social and spiritual aspects of life. The chief purpose of *Śikṣāpatrī* is the liberation of the soul with the knowledge of *Jīva, Īśvara, Māyā, Brahma* and *Parabrahma*. When social chaos, anarchy, violence, dire poverty were on the rampage in many parts of western India, he sets codes of conduct for males, females, widows, saints, celibates, *ācāryas* and others. Some of his superb precepts, useful even today in the daily life of a common man, are summarized below :

Personal Conduct and Behaviour :

Good conduct is given the utmost importance in all the scriptures of the world. Accordingly, Swami Sahajanand says in *Śikṣāpatrī* that those who observe the Rules of Ethics (e.g. non-violence etc.) as prescribed by the Holy Scriptures such as *Śrīmad*

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa etc. shall derive happiness in this world as well as in the next. Those who violate the Rules of Ethics and behave willfully are evil-minded and shall suffer great distress in this world as well as in the next[3]. Further he says that his disciples shall never intentionally kill any living creature, not even small insects such as lice or bugs. They shall never kill goats and/or other living beings in sacrifice performed for the propitiation (*yajña*) of deities and ancestors (*Pitṛs*), for non-violence is declared by all the scriptures (*Śāstras*), as the highest *Dharma* of all the *Dharmas*[4]. Further he says that one shall never commit homicide, even in order to acquire woman, wealth, political power or sovereignty. One shall never commit suicide, even in a place of pilgrimage, or through anger or on account of some untoward action, by taking poison or by strangulation or by jumping into a well or from hill-top or by any other means[5]. Even in a state of excitement, one shall never mutilate any part of one's body or that of others' with a weapon or by any other means, in order to punish oneself or others for any unworthy deed either by oneself or by others. One shall not commit theft, even for the sake of performing an act of *Dharma.* No article, even firewood, flowers etc., owned by others shall ever be taken without their permission. One shall never enter or exit through a secret way, and shall not occupy, even temporarily, any private property without the permission of its owner[6]. As Lord Kṛṣṇa has designated *Vāṅmayam tapaḥ* in the *Gītā*[7], so Swamiji here urges us to shun foul speech full of reproach and allegations saying that one shall never make false accusations or abuse anyone even if it serves one's self-interest[8].

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[3] ये पालयन्ति मनुजाः सच्छास्त्रप्रतिपादितान् ।
सदाचारान् सदा तेऽत्र परत्र च महासुखाः ।।
तानुल्लङ्घ्यात्र वर्तन्ते ये तु स्वैरं कुबुद्धयः ।
त इहामुत्र च महल्लभन्ते कष्टमेव हि ।। *Ibid,* 8-9

[4] कस्यापि प्राणिनो हिंसा नैव कार्याऽत्र मामकैः।
सूक्ष्मयूकामत्कुणादेरपि बुद्ध्या कदाचन ।।
देवता पितृयागार्थमप्यजादेश्च हिंसनम् ।
न कर्तव्यमहिंसैव धर्मः प्रोक्तोऽस्ति यन्महान् ।। *Ibid,* 11-12

[5] स्त्रिया धनस्य वा प्राप्त्यै साम्राज्यस्यापि वा क्वचित् ।
मनुष्यस्य तु कस्यापि हिंसा कार्या न सर्वथा ।।
आत्मघातस्तु तीर्थेऽपि न कर्तव्यश्च न क्रुधा ।
अयोग्याचरणात् क्वापि न विषोद्बन्धनादिना ।। *Ibid,* 13-14

As in speech so in keeping the company, one should be constantly careful. In this context, Swamiji says that one shall never associate oneself with thieves, sinners, drug addicts, hypocrites, licentious and such other deceitful persons. One shall never associate oneself with those persons who, under the pretext of preaching religion or devotion to God, seek wealth, women or worldly pleasure and commit sins[9]. No bribe should be taken while doing some work for others[10]. Further he says that his male disciples shall never listen to the religious discourses given by females, rulers and courtiers. One shall never perform duties pertaining to one's social affairs without careful consideration, whereas duties relating to *Dharma* shall be performed immediately. Those who are learned shall impart their knowledge to others, and shall always associate with saintly persons[11].

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[6] अकार्याचरणे क्वापि जाते स्वस्य परस्य वा ।
अङ्गच्छेदो न कर्तव्यः शस्त्राद्यैश्च क्रुधापि वा ।।
स्तेनकर्म न कर्तव्यं धर्मार्थमपि केनचित् ।
सस्वामिकाष्ठपुष्पादिर्न ग्राह्यं तदनाज्ञया ।। *Ibid*, 16-17
उद्धारेण न निर्गम्यं प्रवेष्टव्यं न तेन च ।
स्थाने सस्वामिके वासः कार्योऽपृष्ट्वा न तत्पतिम् ।। *Ibid*, 33

[7] अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।
स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ।। *Bhagavadgītā*, 17.15

[8] मिथ्यापवादः कस्मिंश्चिदपि स्वार्थस्य सिद्धये ।
नारोप्यो नापशब्दाश्च भाषणीयाः कदाचन ।। *Śikṣāpatrī* , 20

[9] चोरपापिव्यसनिनां सङ्गः पाखण्डिनां तथा ।
कामिनां च न कर्तव्यो जनवञ्चनकर्मणाम् ।।
भक्तिं वा ज्ञानमालम्ब्य स्त्रीद्रव्यरसलोलुभाः ।
पापे प्रवर्तमानाः स्युः कार्यस्तेषां न सङ्गमः ।। *Ibid*, 27-28

[10] लुञ्चा ग्राह्या न कस्यचित् ।। *Ibid*, 26

Absolute respect for the teachers, ascetics, learned people and royal personages taught in different scriptures is again emphasized in the *Śikṣāpatrī* as: One shall never insult a *guru*, or a person who is great, dignified, learned or armed. One shall never go empty handed to a *guru*, a deity or a king. One shall never commit a breach of trust or shall never praise oneself. The courteous disciples shall, on the arrival of a *guru*, a ruler, a very old person, a person who has renounced the material world, a scholar and an ascetic, accord a warm welcome by rising up from their seat, bowing down, offering a seat and saying pleasant words[12].

Following the advice in the convocation address in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*[13], Swamiji urges one to follow the *Dharma* and the good deeds of one's ancestors and not their unrighteous activities saying that one shall never adopt any of the unethical deeds of the great people of the past but shall follow their ethical deeds only[14].

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[11] ज्ञानवार्ताश्रुतिर्नार्या मुखात् कार्या न पूरुषैः ।
न विवादः स्त्रिया कार्यो न राज्ञा न च तज्जनैः ।। *Ibid*, 34

कार्यं न सहसा किञ्चित्कार्यो धर्मस्तु सत्वरम् ।
पाठनीयाऽधीतविद्या कार्यः सङ्गोऽन्वहं सताम् ।। *Ibid*, 36

[12] अपमानो न कर्तव्यो गुरूणां च वरीयसाम् ।
लोके प्रतिष्ठितानां च विदुषां शस्त्रधारिणाम् ।। *Ibid*, 35

गुरुदेवनृप्रेक्षार्थं न गम्यं रिक्तपाणिभिः ।
विश्वासघातो नो कार्यः स्वश्लाघा स्वमुखेन च ।। *Ibid*, 37

गुरुभूपालवर्षिष्ठत्यागिविद्वत्तपस्विनाम् ।
अभ्युत्थानादिना कार्यः सन्मानो विनयान्वितैः ।। *Ibid*, 69

[13] यान्यस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि, नो इतराणि ।। तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् - अनुवाकः ११-१.२

[14] पूर्वैर्महद्भिरपि यद्धर्माचरणं क्वचित् ।
कृतं स्यात्तत्तु न ग्राह्यं ग्राह्यो धर्मस्तु तत्कृतः ।। *Śikṣāpatrī* 74

Food, Clothing and Etiquettes:

It is generally observed that good health depends upon taking nutritious food and avoiding the diet and drinks detrimental to normal physical growth, intellectual maturity and spiritual strength. Swamiji has therefore stressed not to eat meat or flesh or drink liquor even it is an offering made to some God saying that one shall never eat meat even in a moment of extreme necessity, be it remains of a sacrifice, nor drink liquor, wine or intoxicating beverages even though it may be an offering to a deity. One shall drink unfiltered water or milk, nor bathe with water which contains many organisms[15].

He has further exhorted us to avoid taking medicines mixed with liquor or meat given by a physician who is not properly known to us.

About our garments, we are advised to avoid wearing such clothes as would reveal the physical parts causing embarrassment and indecent exposure of the body[16]. While talking about special *Dharmas* of married women, Swamiji says that devout wives shall never behave in a manner which could expose their navel, thighs or breasts and attract the attention of other males. They shall cover themselves with an upper garment. They shall never go out to see vulgar shows nor associate themselves with debauch women or courtesans. When their husbands are away from home, married women shall never wear beautiful clothes or ornaments, nor visit other people's homes, nor indulge in merriment[17]. While talking about special *Dharmas* of widows, Swamiji says

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15. न भक्ष्यं सर्वथा मांसं यज्ञशिष्टमपि क्वचित् ।
न पेयं च सुरामद्यमपि देवनिवेदितम् ।। *Ibid*, 15
अगालितं न पातव्यं पानीयं च पयस्तथा ।
स्नानादिर्नैव कर्तव्यं सूक्ष्मजन्तुमयाम्भसा ।। *Ibid*, 30

16. यस्मिन् परिहितेऽपि स्युर्दृश्यान्यङ्गानि चात्मनः ।
तद्दूष्यं वसनं नैव परिधार्यं मदाश्रितैः ।। *Ibid*, 38

17. नरेक्ष्यनाभ्यूरुकुचाऽनुत्तरीया च नो भवेत् ।
साध्वी स्त्री न भण्डेक्षा न निर्लज्जादिसङ्गिनी ।।
भूषासदंशुकधृतिः परगेहोपवेशनम् ।
त्याज्यं हास्यादि च स्त्रीभिः पत्यौ देशान्तरं गते ।। *Ibid*, 161-162

that widows shall never dress themselves like a married woman, nun or a female recluse, nor dress in a manner which is contrary to the custom of the place and their family traditions[18]. Brahmin celibates shall never wear shawls or such other garments which are expensive, decorative, dyed with gaudy colours, even if they have been reverently given to them by others[19].

As we should be cautious about our personal appearance, health and hygiene so we should be aware of cleanliness. On account of our dirty habits of spitting, excreting, urinating etc. in open spaces, public places, banks of rivers, gardens etc., not only the environmental pollution takes place but also the fatal diseases spread and physical balance is disturbed. Therefore Swamiji has rightly asked to give up such filthy habits[20].

Social Behaviour :

Swamiji makes us aware of our social commitment and obligation through our behaviour as he says that all those who come to the temples of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa either daily or on days of religious festivals, shall keep themselves away from touching the opposite sex and after coming out from temples, they shall behave as normal[21]. Disciple shall never enter into arguments with their *Ācārya*, but honour and serve him by offering food, money, clothing, etc. according to their abilities[22]. In event of a calamity, which has come naturally or through a person or an epidemic etc., one shall always act in such a way that one can save one's own life and also that of others but shall never act otherwise [23].

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[18] वेषो न धार्यस्ताभिश्च सुवासिन्याः स्त्रियास्तथा ।
न्यासिन्या वीतरागाया विकृतश्च न कर्हिचित् ।। *Ibid*, 169

[19] अनर्घ्यं चित्रितं वासः कुसुम्भाद्यैश्च रञ्जितम् ।
न धार्यं च महावस्त्रं प्राप्तमन्येच्छयापि तत् ।। *Ibid*, 192

[20] स्थानेषु लोकशास्त्राभ्यां निषिद्धेषु कदाचन ।
मलमूत्रोत्सर्जनं च न कार्यं ष्ठीवनं तथा ।। *Ibid*, 32

[21] उत्सवाहेषु नित्यं च कृष्णमन्दिरमागतः ।
पुम्भिः स्पृश्या न वनितास्तत्र ताभिश्च पूरुषाः ।। *Ibid*, 40

[22] विवादो नैव कर्तव्यः आचार्येण सह क्वचित् ।
पूज्योऽन्नधनवस्त्राद्यैर्यथाशक्ति स चाखिलैः ।। *Ibid*, 71

It is socially essential for a man to share the joy and sorrow of our neighbours, fellow-beings and of the less fortunate people around us, help and guide them as well as to give some relief from their physical impediments, domestic difficulties and momentary problems. One who does this is called a great *Yogī* by Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*[24].

Those who render services to us should be properly appreciated and rewarded, otherwise there arise several social evils or inequality, discrimination, bonded labour and revengeful rebellion in the region [25]. Further Swamiji urges us to follow our own duty as per the *Varṇāśrama*[26]. He has also started ideal daily routine to be followed by one desirous of mental peace and spiritual progress[27]. Our day should begin with the remembrance of God. *Smaraṇa* (remembering), *Kīrtana* (glorifying) and *Darśana* (perceiving the divinity) should form an integral part of our daily life. Incorporating the spiritual and ethical values in day to day life, right from the childhood, reduces the possibility of mutual conflicts, animosity and warfare in the state.

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23. दैव्यामापदि कष्टायां मानुष्यां वा गदादिषु ।
यथा स्वपररक्षा स्यात्तथा वृत्त्यं न चान्यथा ।। *Ibid*, 119

24. आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र समं पश्यति योऽर्जुन ।
सुखं वा यदि वा दुःखं स योगी परमो मतः ।। *Bhagavadgītā*, 6. 32

25. अन्नवस्त्रादिभिः सर्वे स्वकीयाः परिचारिकाः ।
सम्भावनीयाः सततं यथायोग्यं यथाधनम् ।। *Śikṣāpatrī* , 67

26. भाव्यं शमदमक्षान्तिसन्तोषादिगुणान्वितैः ।
ब्राह्मणैः शौर्यधैर्यादिगुणोपेतैश्च बाहुजैः ।।
वैश्यैश्च कृषिवाणिज्यकुसीदमुखवृत्तिभिः ।
भवितव्यं तथा शूद्रैर्द्विजसेवादिवृत्तिभिः ।। *Ibid*, 89-90

27. प्रत्यहं तु प्रबोद्धव्यं पूर्वमेवोदयाद्रवेः ।
विधाय कृष्णस्मरणं कार्यः शौचविधिस्ततः ।। *Ibid*, 49

Philosophical and Spiritual Doctrines:

Following the monotheistic teaching of the *prasthānatrayī* (*Upaniṣads, Bhagavadgītā* and *Brahmasūtra*), Swamiji has advised here in *Śikṣāpatrī* to concentrate on one deity Lord Kṛṣṇa, whom he has commended as the Supreme Brahman controlling everything in the world[28]. He is called by different names and forms according to His divine accomplices[29]. Following the footsteps of *Gītā*, Swamiji has recommended to worship and meditate on the divine form sculptured out of either stone or metal [30]. Unless offered to Him nothing should be taken and no other thought but of the God should be entertained in one's mind[31]. Religious ceremonies and festivals of the God should be zealously and ardently celebrated. One shall never practise devotion to Lord without observance of *Dharma* and shall never give up devotion to Lord for fear of criticism from ignorant persons[32]. The disabled disciples shall serve God to the best of their ability[33]. All persons shall worship lord with devotion knowing that there is nothing more conducive to the realization of salvation other than devotion to Lord[34]. One shall consider one's soul as distinct from the three forms of body – *Sthūla* (gross), *Sūkṣma* (subtle) and *Kāraṇa* (causal) and identify the soul with *Brahman* and with that sublime form shall always worship Lord Kṛṣṇa.

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[28] स श्रीकृष्णः परब्रह्म भगवान् पुरुषोत्तमः ।
उपास्य इष्टदेवो नः सर्वाविर्भावकारणम् ।। *Ibid*, 108

[29] स राधया युतो ज्ञेयो राधाकृष्ण इति प्रभुः ।
रुक्मिण्या रमयोपेतो लक्ष्मीनारायणः स हि ।।
ज्ञेयोऽर्जुनेन युक्तोऽसौ नरनारायणाभिधः ।
बलभद्रादियोगेन तत्तन्नामोच्यते स च ।। *Ibid*, 109-110

[30] शैली वा धातुजा मूर्तिः शालग्रामोऽर्च्य एव तैः ।
द्रव्यैर्यथाप्तैः कृष्णस्य जप्योऽथाष्टाक्षरो मनुः ।। *Ibid*, 56

[31] भक्तैरेतैस्तु कृष्णायानर्पितं वार्यपि क्वचित् ।
न पेयं नैव भक्ष्यं च पत्रकन्दफलाद्यपि ।। *Ibid*, 60

[32] धर्मेण रहिता कृष्णभक्तिः कार्या न सर्वथा ।
अज्ञनिन्दाभयान्नैव त्याज्यं श्रीकृष्णसेवनम् ।। *Ibid*, 39

[33] सर्वैरशक्तौ वार्धक्याद्गरीयस्यापदाऽथवा ।
भक्ताय कृष्णमन्यस्मै दत्त्वा वृत्त्यं यथाबलम् ।। *Ibid*, 61

There are eight authentic treatises to be read and followed by the devotees. They are : 1) The Four *Vedas* 2) *Vyāsasūtra* 3) *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4) *Viṣṇusahasranāma* 5) *Bhagavadgītā* 6) *Viduranīti* 7) *Vāsudevamāhātmya* and 8) *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[35].

A devotee should make an effort to understand the significance of *Dharma*, *Bhakti*, *Vairāgya* and *Jñāna*. Swamiji says that *Dharma* [36] is the right conduct as authenticated by *Śruti* and *Smṛti* treatises. *Bhakti* is profound love for God coupled with knowledge of the majesty and magnificence of Lord, as is defined by Nārada in his *Bhaktisūtra* – *sā tvasmin paramapremarūpā*. While *Vairāgya*[37] means non-attachment to everything except Lord. *Jñāna* is comprehensive and precise knowledge of the mutual relation between *Jīva* (soul), *Māyā* (illusion) and *Īśvara* (God).

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[34] तस्यैव सर्वथा भक्तिः कर्तव्या मनुजैर्भुवि ।
निःश्रेयसकरं किञ्चित्ततोऽन्यन्नेति दृश्यताम् ।। *Ibid*, 113

[35] वेदाश्च व्याससूत्राणि श्रीमद्भागवताभिधम् ।
पुराणं भारते तु श्रीविष्णोर्नामसहस्रकम् ।।

तथा श्रीभगवद्गीता नीतिश्च विदुरोदिता ।
श्रीवासुदेवमाहात्म्यं स्कान्दवैष्णवखण्डगम् ।।

धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गता च याज्ञवल्क्यऋषेः स्मृतिः ।
एतान्यष्ट ममेष्टानि सच्छास्त्राणि भवन्ति हि ।। *Ibid*, 93-95

[36] धर्मो ज्ञेयः सदाचारः श्रुतिस्मृत्युपपादितः।
माहात्म्यज्ञानयुग्भूरिस्नेहो भक्तिश्च माधवे ।। *Ibid*, 103

[37] वैराग्यं ज्ञेयमप्रीतिः श्रीकृष्णेतरवस्तुषु ।
ज्ञानं च जीवमायेशरूपाणां सुष्ठु वेदनम् ।। *Ibid*, 104

The equal importance is here given to the ethical values like benevolent behaviour and conduct, self-restraint and detachment for paltry gains as well as to the spiritual virtues like total dedication to the God and genuine awareness of trinity – Individual Self, divine power and the divinity itself.

Based on the statements of the *Prasthānatrayī*, the *Jīva* residing in one's heart is said to be atomic and conscious knower. While the divine power *Māyā* is endowed with three *guṇas* viz. *sattva* (serenity) *rajas* (passion) and *tamas* (temperament) and which causes egoism and arrogance in man. *Īśvara* dwells in *Jīva* by His indwelling and controlling power, just as *Jīva* dwells in the heart. He is the Supreme and Sovereign and gives rewards to all according to their actions[38].

Swamiji says that his philosophy rests in theory of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (Special theory of non-dualism). *Goloka Dhāma* is his beloved abode. He believes *Mukti* (salvation) as being able to serve Lord Kṛṣṇa in the sublime state in *Goloka Dhāma*. Further he says that his spiritual philosophy rests on the commentary on *Vyāsasūtra* and *Bhagavadgītā* by Śrī Rāmānujācārya [39].

Through ethics, *Śikṣāpatrī* lays a strong foundation of spirituality. It helps to clean the body, to sterilize the mind and to purify the soul. It shows a practical way of purifying the soul by purifying different faculties like food habits, thinking pattern, speech and ultimately our day to day activities. It equips the soul for achievement of final beatitude i.e. *mokṣa*. Thus, it reinforces individual personality, restructures social format and rejuvenates cultural values.

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38. हृदये जीववज्जीवे योऽन्तर्यामितया स्थितः ।
ज्ञेयं स्वतन्त्र ईशोऽसौ सर्वकर्मफलप्रदः ।। *Ibid*, 107

39. मतं विशिष्टाद्वैतं मे गोलोको धाम चेप्सितम् ।
तत्र ब्रह्मात्मना कृष्णसेवा मुक्तिश्च गम्यताम् ।। *Ibid*, 121
शारीरकाणां भगवद्गीतायाश्चावगम्यताम् ।
रामानुजाचार्यकृतं भाष्यमाध्यात्मिकं मम ।। *Ibid*, 100

Summary – *Śikṣāpatrī* , in fact, is a Letter of 212 Sanskrit verses, addressed by Swami Sahjanand. Though it forms the 44th section of the 4th part of the SATSAṄGĪ-JĪVANA, it stands a separate section, complete in itself. It is fully commented with nearly four thousand references of various Hindu Scriptures in support of the precepts set forth in this text.

Śikṣāpatrī is miniscule in size but profound in meaning. It gives the quintessence of all scriptures. It preaches simple living and high thinking, righteous conduct and pious heart, pure mind and supreme devotion, knowledge and divinization. It gives objective and universal moral standard commonly applicable to all. The very utterances "I have written this *Śikṣāpatrī* for the greatest good of mankind (*Sarvajīvahitāvahaḥ*)" mirrored its universality and catholicity.

Teachings of *Śikṣāpatrī* are not impracticable. It regulates and enhances the inter-personal relations in our social life and dealings on ethical basis. It is extremely practical in the matter of expiation for it respects human limitations. *Śikṣāpatrī* skillfully amalgamates the extremely high and the simple codes ranging from the behavioural to the devotional in a way that even a layman can understand and follow it easily. Such amalgamation and benedictions given in *Śikṣāpatrī* reflects the supremacy of the author. True religion is propounded in almost every word of *Śikṣāpatrī* .

Śikṣāpatrī helps to enter in the new era of pure consciousness and spiritual awakening; therefore it is a panacea that can cure the diseased society into a healthy and progressive one. It harmonizes all the facets of human personality and restores one's energy in a right direction to open the inner eye towards the ultimate reality. Hence it leads to the integrity of knowledge.

Śikṣāpatrī inculcates the ethics deep into the human psyche. In fact ethics shows the path of self-knowledge and self-discipline. If a person wants to lead a moral life, he has to observe certain norms of do's and don'ts and live with a specific ethical discipline to attain the ultimate goal. The relation of ethics and metaphysics is like means and end. Ethics is a practical science which transforms the man from the level of his base nature to the level of divinity. Ethical discipline of *Śikṣāpatrī* emerges from the solid foundation of metaphysical doctrines of *Navya-Viśiṣṭādvaita,* theistic conception of personal God and continuous manifestation of God through a realized saint. It helps to develop the moral courage to face the unforeseen physical, mental, financial and spiritual problems arising in the life. It also helps to overcome the depression and tensions that are common symptoms of today's society. Thus, it teaches the basic art of living for everyone, everywhere, every time.

Śikṣāpatrī cherishes and promotes the moral value. It helps in self-developing and self-sculpturing of one's life. This value is regarded as the supreme value because it is directly connected with the human action and becoming of an individual. If a person does not fully understand the importance of mortality, he would not be moral except by accident. The three great values of *Upaniṣads*: *satyam, śivam* and *sundaram* are in tune with the values promoted by *Śikṣāpatrī*. Sahajanand Swami in *Śikṣāpatrī* strongly propounds the principles of *ahiṁsā* and *brahmacarya* and thus, ensures the symmetry and harmony at personal and social level.

In concluding words, *Śikṣāpatrī* is a '*modus operandi*'- an absolutely inevitable code to be followed, to be happy. It is inspirational and hence it helps us to be progressive. It helps to attain a perfect alignment between heart and head. The behavioural, practical and psychological aspects of human life are focused in a perfect balance. The factor of relativity and elasticity are inseparable aspects of the teaching of the *Śikṣāpatrī*.

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CARITA-KĀVYAS IN THE MODERN SANSKRIT LITERATURE ON WOMEN

DAXA PUROHIT*

Carita-kāvyas (Biographical Poems) are available in plenty in Sanskrit literature. The tradition is continuing since the time of Aśvaghoṣa who has written *Buddha-caritam.* This line of poetry has attracted many prominent Sanskrit poets who have composed *kāvyas* of different types such as *Mahākāvyas, Khaṇḍa-kāvyas* and *Laghukāvyas* on the lives of Gods, Goddesses, kings, saints, sages, political and social leaders, philosophers, freedom fighters and noble women like Sītā, Ahalyā, Jhāṁsīśvarī, Victoriā, Indirā Gāndhī, Saumitrī Sundarī and others.

The present paper deals with the *carita-kāvyas* composed particularly on women. The survey has brought to light that there is a significant change in the trend and tradition of the *Mahākāvyas* as the Sanskrit poets of modern period do not strictly follow the definition of *Mahākāvya* given by the Poeticians like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha. All the Poeticians emphasize the fact that there should be a hero (*nāyaka*) of the *Mahākāvya* and he should be of *Dhīrodātta* type belonging to a great family etc. But in the modern period of Sanskrit literature there are *Mahākāvyas* on the lives of Sītā, Jhāṁsīrāṇī, Śāradāmaṇi, Ahalyā Bāi, Indirā Gāndhī and others.

Śāradāmaṇī-līlā-caritam of Bala Krishna

Śāradāmaṇī-līlā-caritam[1] is an interesting *Mahākāvya.* It narrates the divine life of mother Śāradāmaṇī, wife of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, one of the greatest saints of India. The poet regards this divine pair as his favourite deity. This epic was composed in 1992. The poem contains eleven cantos and 641 verses in nineteen different metres such as *Vaṁśastha, Mandākrāntā, Sragdharā, Vasantatilakā, Mālinī, Drutavilambita, Anuṣṭup, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā* and *Śālinī* etc.

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1. *Śāradāmaṇī-līlā-caritam* of Bala Krishna, Nirmal Publication, Delhi, 1998.

The poet has been successful in depicting the noble character of Śāradāmaṇī in this epic. He regards Śāradāmaṇī as the incarnation of Goddess Durgā. The poet has expressed his experience of realization of goddess Kālī and opined that whole hearted devotion helps to become a good poet. He has very effectively narrated divine qualities of mother. She has also been characterized as an ordinary household's wife as serving her mother-in-law and husband. The character of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa has also been depicted with reference to his wife. The qualities like kindness, welfare of others, service to needy, penance, worship, equality and forgiveness etc. are also interwoven. The poem encourages the readers to practise and adopt spirituality. *Śānta* is the main sentiment of this poem. Figures of speech found in this poem are *virodha, rūpaka, yamaka, arthāntaranyāsa, nidarśanā but upamā-alaṅkāra* seems to be the favourite one to the poet as it occurs frequently. The use of these figures is found quite natural. Easy and simple language used by the poet suits to the *Vaidarbhī* style. The *Prasāda-guṇa* is a distinctive feature. The poet has also included the description of Baṅgabhūmī, the province, Jayarāmavatī, a village in Modara. The rainy and winter seasons are described in the poem. The presentation style of the poet proves the talent and ability of the poet. It fulfills all the technical characteristics of a *Mahākāvya* . The poet gives a message through this poem to eradicate social evils specially related to Indian women. Mother Śāradā had made efforts to remove the custom of child marriage in Bengali society. She had also worked for the improvement of the status of women in society. This epic is a valuable addition to Sanskrit literature.

Śāradādevī-carita-Saṅgraha of Ambatī Devakī Menon

Śāradādevī-carita-saṅgraha[2] is a *khaṇḍa-kāvya*, written by Devakī Menon in 1978. It has 9 cantos consisting of total 292 verses. It narrates the life of Śāradā Devī, the wife of Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa.

Indirā Gāndhī-caritam of Satyavrata Śāstrī

Indirā Gāndhī-caritam[3] is an important epic containing twenty five cantos consisting of total 879 verses. It deals with the biography of Mrs. Indirā Gāndhī, the former Prime Minister of India. It conveys all the activities which were performed by her

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2. *Śāradādevī-carita-Saṅgraha* of Ambati Devakī Menon, Ramakrishna Matha, 1978.

3. *Indirā Gāndhī-caritam of Satyavrat Śāstrī*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1976.

during her life. The work commences with a *pūrvapīṭhīkā* of eight stanzas. The poet expressed his wish that the country should be full of prosperity and it should be bereft of poverty, misery, diseases etc. The poet continues by saying that let people enjoy happiness, and let them not fight among each other and let India resemble the divine *Nandana.* Then the poet declares that he is writing an epic in the name of Indirā , who is loved and admired by people, whose fame has spread to different quarters of the world. The poet concludes the *pūrva-pīṭhīkā* by saying that he is dedicating the work to Indirā Gāndhī.

We find many examples of *Vīrarasa* in the speech of Javāharlala, his father Motīlāla and Feroz Gāndhī. The subordinate sentiment is Karuṇa. The *Karuṇarasa* is evident in the descriptions like the death of brave French girl Joan of Arc, death of Kamalā Nehru and Javāhara's grief etc.

The qualities of tolerance and firmness were seen in the incident of flying the nation flag ceremony. The poet represents the character of Indirā Gāndhī, who endowed within herself uncommon qualities like foresight, firmness and dedication to the welfare of the people. The poet has employed the metres like *Vaitālīya, Svāgatā, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Praharṣiṇī, Mālinī, Rathoddhatā, Vaṁśastha, Mandākrāntā, Pañcacāmara, Śālinī, Toṭaka, Puṣpitāgra* and others.

Satī-caritam of K. S. Krishnamoorthy Shastri

Satī-caritam[4] composed by *Mahāmahopādhyāya* K. S. Krishnamoorthy Shastri is based on the *Mahābhārata.* It was published in the form of a book in 1953 from Madurai. This epic is based on *kathā* of Satyavān and Sāvitrī. With the first boon Sāvitrī asks that let her father-in-law get back the lost kingdom as well as the lost eyesight. With the second boon Sāvitrī asks for sons of Satyavān who will be valorous and who will enhance the prestige of the dynasty. With the third boon Sāvitrī gets back the life of her husband Satyavān. There is a beautiful simile here, like Rāhu releasing the moon; Sāvitrī was relieved from her agony.

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[4] *Post-Independence Sanskrit Epics*, Rangnatha, S., Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1996.

The other poem, *Sāvitrī-caritam* is written by Ātmānanda in 1961.

Saumitrī-sundarī-caritam of Bhavanidutta Sarma

Saumitrī-sundarī-caritam[5] is written by Bhavanidutta Sarma which is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In this poem, he describes the pitiable condition of Urmilā, the character on which very few poets have written. The episode is taken from *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. It deals with the latter incidents of Urmilā's life when Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā went to the forest. It is divided in nine cantos.

The poet provides equal status to *Śṛṅgāra*, *Karuṇa* and *Raudra* sentiments. The main sentiment of this poem is *Karuṇa*, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Raudra* are subordinate sentiments. For making his *Mahākāvya* charming he employs various metres like *Vaṁśastha*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Mālinī*, *Mandākrāntā*, and others. He uses the *Vaidarbhī* style and sometimes *Gauḍī*.

Sītā-caritam of Rewa Prasad Dwivedi

Sītā-caritam[6] based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an epic written by Rewa Prasad Dwivedi. It is published in 1967. Here, the poet has started this poem with the coronation of Śrī Rāma when he has completed the time of "*Vanavāsa*" and came back to Ayodhyā with his wife Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa and ended with that she engrossed her physical body in the lap of her mother-earth. The poet uses long compounds in his language. He uses various figures of speech, metres and sentiments. In the description of the battle *Gauḍī* style is observed. The main sentiment is *Karuṇa*, while *Vīra* and *Śānta* are subordinate sentiments. The present work belongs to the category of mythological poem.

Sītā-caritam is written by K. S. Krishnamoorthy Shastri in 1953, *Vaidehī-caritam* is a *Mahākāvya* which is composed by Ramachandra Mishra. *Jānakīcaritam* is composed by Ramasnehi Dasa in 1957. The above poems are also based on the life of Sītā.

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5. *Saumitrī-sundarī-caritam* of Bhavani Dutta Sarma, Mujjafarpur, 1962.

6. *Sītā-caritam* of Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, Kalidasa Sansthana, Varanasi, 1967.

Tārā-caritam of Ramakrishna Sastri

Tārā-caritam[7] is composed by Ramakrishna Sastri. It has 183 verses. It is published in *Saṁvid* in 1975. The poet is inspired to write about Tārāmatī who was the wife of king Hari of Kashmir. Tārāmatī's son was Kṛṣṇasiṁha. She was active for the welfare of the society. She had established an institute for the education of women and had supported the freedom fighters. When India became independent, she engaged herself in public activities for the refugees of Pakistan. When Pakistan fought with India for second time, she again encouraged her son for the administrative work of Indian army. She had proved herself as courageous. She died in 1967 A.D. In the verses 140 to 183, the poet uses the sentence "*Tārādevī Divaṅgatā*" at end of every verse.

Rādhā-caritam of Harinarayan Dikshit

Rādhā-caritam[8] is written by Harinarayan Dikshit and published in 2005 A.D. It is a *Mahākāvya* which has twenty two cantos consisting of 2320 verses. It is based on the life of Rādhā who was a great devotee and beloved of lord Kṛṣṇa. She is famous for her pious love towards Lord Kṛṣṇa. Harinarayan Dikshit depicted her love and separation in his poem *Rādhā-caritam*.

The other work *Rādhā-caritam*[9] is written by Kalikaprasad Shukla in 1985. It has 13 cantos consisting of 1020 verses. It deals with the story based on *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

Vicṭoriā-caritam-saṅgraha of Keralavarma Valiya Tempuran

Vicṭoriā-caritam-saṅgraha[10] of Keralavarma Valiya Tempuran *alias Kerala-Kalidāsa* is written in 1887 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the coronation of Queen Vicṭoriā. It has 108 verses. At the end of every quarter of the verse, the poet uses *Vicṭoriā Vijayatām Śaradām Śatam*. Here, the poet narrates the personality of QueenVicṭoriā and her works for the relief of Indian people at the time of freedom movement. This poem has proved that the nobility of the person cannot be bound by any type of religion and region. Every one praises the good qualities and good deeds of a person. Rāṇī Victoriā was a foreign lady. When she came to India, she changed the condition of the Indian people by her own ruling governors; she changed some rules for the relief of Indians.

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[7] *Śrī Tārā-caritam* of Ramakrishna Sastri In : Samvid, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1975.

[8] *Rādhā-caritam* of Harinarayan Dikshit, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 2005.

[9] *Rādhā-caritam* of Kalikaprasad Sukla, Sudhi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1985.

[10] *Vicṭoriā-caritam-saṅgraha of Keralavarma Valiya Tempuran*, Golden Jubilee Series, 1887.

Ahalyā-caritam of Sakhārāma

Ahalyā-caritam[11] is a historical *Mahākāvya,* composed by Sakharama in 1857. It has 17 cantos consisting of 1261 verses. *Ahalyācaritam* is a historical poem dealing with the life-account of Ahalyā, the wife of Krishna Rao Govinda of Indore. The poem begins with the prayer of Lord Gaṇeśa. The poem is written in the form of '*saṁvāda*' between the preceptor and student. Here, student asks the question about Ahalyā's character and the preceptor replies.

Nalinī-caritam is written by Sudersana Sarma in 1948. *Candrāvatī-caritam* is composed by Ananda Jha on the life of Candrāvatī. She was a queen of Bengal State. *Devī-caritam* is composed by Ramavrat Mishra in 1982. *Sukanyā-caritam* is written by Daraśanakalānidhiparikhintu Rāmavarmā Mahārājā of Kerala. It is a *khaṇḍakāvya.* *Umā-caritam* is composed by Ramacarana Bhattacharya of Bengal in 1900 A.D.

From the above presentation it is clear that twenty one poems, both long and short, have been composed only on women. There are also other biographical poems in the form of *Mahākāvya* such as *Jānakī-Jīvanam* by Abhiraja Rajendra Mishra, *Yaśodharā* by Ogeti Pariksit Sharma and *Indirā-Jīvanam* by Gosvāmī Balabhadra Prasāda Śāstrī, but they are not included in this paper as they are not given the title *carita-kāvyas.* The survey also made it clear that more than three *carita-kāvyas* are composed on Sītā. The character and personality of Sītā has influenced more to the Sanskrit poets of modern period. Two poems are available on Śāradādevī. There are two outstanding *Mahākāvyas* on Rādhā. Both the works are significant and notable. Similarly the noble deeds of Lakṣmībaī and Ahalyā Baī have attracted the Sanskrit poets. The great poet Satyavrat Sastri has preferred to write on the character of Indirā Gāndhī, the former Prime Minister of India. All these works are valuable contributions to the field of modern Sanskrit literature and they are the hidden treasures of India.

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[11] *Ahalyā-caritam of Sakhārāma,* Govinda Ramachandra, Satara, 1959.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SARASVATĪ PURĀṆA* IN THE ARCHIVES OF WESTERN INDIA

ELIZABETH MARY ROHLMAN*

The *Sarasvatī Purāṇa,* sometimes known as the *Sarasvatī Māhātmya,* is one of copious regional puranic texts from the western Indian region that is the modern state of Gujarat. Gujarati scholars generally date the text to the late twelfth century due its association with King Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, who ruled at Patan from approximately 1096 to 1143 A.D. This connection is established through detailed descriptions of the temples and tanks Siddharāja is known to have constructed at the holy site of Sahasraliṅga, near Patan. The narrative of the text relates the Sarasvatī River's descent to earth and follows her course through various holy places of Western India from the Himalayas to Somnath, ending with her arrival at and convergence with the ocean and solidifying her status as a *mahā-nadī,* or great river. The dynamic course of the river serves as the unifying theme through a diverse variety of geographical, religious and literary topics. In this respect, the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* is quite similar to other river *māhātmyas* that circulate throughout western India. The narrative design of the text is defined by the employment of geography as the unifying motif that weaves together a variety of geographical, religious, and historical topics. Two versions of the text are extant, one espousing a Śaiva theology and the other a Vaiṣṇava theology.

Scant evidence as to the history of the Gujarat *purāṇas* survives, and the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* is no exception. As is the case with so many Sanskrit texts, its authorship, readership, and historical origins are lost to modern scholars. No religious practice from which we might speculate as to the historical audience and reception associated with the text survives. As is the case with most Purāṇas, especially those of primarily regional relevance, there are no extant commentaries on the work. And as the *Sarasvatī*

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Purāṇa falls far afield from the traditional canon of orientalist scholarship, modern scholarship, too, has produced little on the text. Bühler appears to have been the only western scholar to have shown any interest in the text at all, collecting four manuscripts during his tours of Gujarat between 1868 and 1881. Gujarati scholars, too, have produced little on the text: K. B. Dave published a Gujarati-language monograph in 1940 on the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, and S. K. Dave produced an English-language article in the journal Purāṇa article summarizing his father's work 1968.[1]

These few scholarly resources on the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* attest to the limited access early scholars had to the text itself. In writing his ground breaking monograph on the text, K. B. Dave had access to only three copies of the *purāṇa*. He relied on one copy from his personal collection (now in the B.J. Institute in Ahmedabad), one copy from the private collection of a Rājebā Śāstrī of Ahmedabad (now in the L.D. Institute in Ahmedabad), and a modern transcript prepared, based on B.O.R.I. manuscript number 429 of the Vishrambag Collection, by P.K. Gode at the request of Ambalal B. Jani of Forbes Gujarati Sabha (Press) in Bombay.[2] The Forbes Gujarati Sabha then supplied K. B. Dave with this transcript, which he used heavily in writing his monograph on the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*. Dave notes that his assistant based this transcript on a manuscript held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune (number 429 of the Vishrama Collection), and admits that he has no way of assessing how closely the transcript reflects the manuscript on which it was based. He speculates that his assistant likely provided numerous grammatical corrections that are not identified, yet he also concedes that this is the copy on which the majority of his research and his critical edition of the fifteenth and sixteenth *sargas* are based. Dave also notes that the three copies in his possession share the same narrative, with little variance between the editions, the exception being that his own private copy, now in the B. J. Institute in Ahmedabad, includes an additional forty *ślokas* entitled the *Jayeśvara Māhātmya*. It is clear from this description that he had access to only one of the two extant versions of the text. Given the resources available to him, the scope of Dave's study was clearly limited in its vision of the text.[3] Despite the dearth of scholarship engaging in the *Sarasvatī*

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[1] Dave, S. K., 'The *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*,' *Purāṇaṃ* 10, no. 1 (January, 1968): 68-76.

[2] See Gode, P. K., 'Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras,' *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 14 (1938): 458 ftnt. 10.

[3] Dave, K. B., *Sarasvatī Purāṇa : Aitihāsika vibhāga, mūla ane bhāṣāntara tathā upayukta vivecana sāthe* (Bombay : Śrī Forbes *Gujarātī Sabhā*, 1940), 1214.

Purāṇa at length, the text is mentioned in a variety of English sources from the early twentieth century, and Gujarati sources throughout the century, as a repository of information pertaining to medieval Patan, the Solaṅkī dynasty, and the Sahasraliṅga Lake.[4]

In the absence of ethnographic or literary evidence relating to the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, and considering the limited perspective of the sparse secondary scholarship on the text, the text's extant manuscripts alone might provide hints as to the life and position of the text in Gujarati history and culture. The manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* that are preserved in the archives of Western India convey the inherent physicality of the text as a material object. Each of the twelve extant manuscripts carries with it the peculiarities of a distinct past, unique to this single, material text. This reality mirrors Richard Davis's theorizing the lives of Indian images, employing Kopytoff's notion of the 'cultural biography' of objects in culture.[5] It is true that manuscripts are seldom, if ever, viewed as being 'alive' in the sense of iconic images within Indian culture. It is also true that the shift from manuscript as religious textual object to manuscript as scholarly resource is less rupturing than the transformation of a *mūrti* into a gallery piece. Nonetheless, the virtually pandemic view in contemporary scholarship that manuscripts are strictly repositories of abstract literary content to be preserved in archives obscures the earlier lives and functions that may have been enjoyed by these ultimately physical objects. To ignore the physical history of manuscripts is to lose valuable information about the texts themselves. In the case of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, the concept of tracing the biography of physical objects also offers one limited possibility for discerning the history of the text from external sources. Through consideration of the limited colophon evidence and records of manuscript collection from the archives of Gujarat and Maharashtra, a skeletal narrative of the physical movements and changing status of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* emerges.

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[4] See, for example: James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat; More Especially of the Districts Included in the Baroda State* (1903; reprint, Delhi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975); A. S. Gadres, *Archaeology in Baroda : 1934-1947* (Vadodara : Baroda State Press, 1947); Rasiklāla Choṭālāla Parikha and Hariprasāda Gaṅgāśaṅkara Śāstrī, *Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sāṃskṛtika Itihāsa*, Volume 4 : *Solaṅkī Kāla* (Ahmedabad : Śeṭha Bhoḷābhāī Jeśiṅgabhāī Adhyayana, 1976).

[5] Davis, Richard, *Lives of Indian Images*, (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1997), 6-9.

Twelve manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* and one modern (twentieth century) transcript are known to be extant, none of which are illustrated. One early printed edition by the Bombay City Press survives, in the collection of the L. D. Institute in Ahmedabad. Printed in 1888 and edited by a well-known Gujarati editor of Sanskrit texts, the edition hails from the rush in production of printed editions of Sanskrit texts in late nineteenth century in Bombay. While it is not technically a manuscript, the fact that it is a mere edition, prepared without later methods of critical editing, and based on only one manuscript of the text, this edition is best approached in the same manner as other manuscripts of the text. Five manuscripts are held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune and another five manuscripts are held in the Oriental Institute of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in Vadodara. In Ahmedabad, the B. J. Institute of Indology holds one manuscript and the modern transcript while the L. D. Institute of Indology holds one manuscript and the early printed edition of the text.[6] In addition to these fourteen copies, S.K. Dave writes in 1968 that two manuscripts are held in the private collections of Rājeba Śāstrī of Patan and M. M. Ayāchī of Patan. Nearly forty years after the fact, the whereabouts of these two manuscripts are no longer known. All of the manuscripts are written in *Devanāgarī*, though there is evidence of chronological development of the *Devanāgarī* employed, with older manuscripts exhibiting more influence of both the *pṛṣṭha-mātrā* form of *nāgarī* that is common in manuscripts from medieval Gujarat and of old Gujarati script.

Among these extant manuscripts, there are at least two distinct versions of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa.* The first version divides the narrative into eighteen *sargas*, in which *sargas* fifteen and sixteen explicitly link the text to the sacred site at Sahasraliṅga, the reign of Siddharāja Jayasingha (r. 1093-1143), and the Solaṅkī dynasty of medieval Patan. The theological vision of this recension is explicitly Śaiva. The second version divides the narrative into twenty-seven *adhyāyas*, and presents a more generic description of the sacred geography of Gujarat that is less bound to the historical figure of Siddharāja or the Patan district of Northern Gujarat. This twenty-seven *adhyāya* version contains a *Vaiṣṇava* theological view as opposed to the *Śaiva* theology of the eighteen *sarga* version. It appears that the eighteen-*sarga* version was more popular and earlier: at least seven of the extant manuscripts and the modern transcript are of this version, including the earliest dated manuscript. Only two of the extant manuscripts and the printed version from Bombay City Press relate the twenty-seven *adhyāya* version. These three texts are among the most recent, all dated to the mid-to late-nineteenth century. One manuscript divides the text into an anomalous twenty-two *adhyāyas*, but the content of the text appears to be similar to that of the eighteen *sarga* version. Two of the remaining manuscripts are either incomplete or so damaged that it is difficult to discern which version of the text they contain. Of course, it is impossible to verify the relationship between the two texts with regard to chronology or dispersal. Later manuscripts may bear witness to earlier narrative traditions, while the ratio of manuscripts may reflect mere coincidences of preservation.

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[6] Dave, S. K., 'The *Sarasvatī Purāṇa,*' *Purāṇaṃ* 10, number 1 (January, 1968): 70, ftnt. 1.

Of the extant manuscripts, five provide colophon information detailing the date and location at which the manuscript was produced. The L.D. Institute manuscript is dated to both 1831 of the *Saṁvat era* and 1696 of the Śālivāhana *Śaka era*, placing it at roughly 1774 A.D. The copying of the manuscript was completed in the Gujarat region, in the city of Patan. The B.J. Institute manuscript is dated 1905 *Saṁvat*, or 1848 A.D. It, too, was copied in the Gujarat Region, in the city of Patan. Only one of the Bhandarkar manuscripts contains an intact colophon. It is dated 1928 *Saṁvat*, or 1871 A.D.; the location of copying is not noted in the colophon. Of the manuscripts held at the Oriental Institute, three include intact colophons: manuscript 3720 is dated *Saṁvat* 1937, or 1880 A.D., and manuscript 3721 is dated *Saṁvat* 1940, or 1883 A.D. Both of these manuscripts were produced in the Gujarat region, in the city of Patan. It is also noteworthy that these two manuscripts are written in a strikingly similar hand, and may, in fact, have been copied by the same scribe. One other manuscript held by the Oriental Institute in Baroda is dated to 1522 or 1523 *Saṁvat*, or 1466 A.D. This manuscript is referenced both in Bühler's 1872 catalogue of manuscripts held in private collections of Gujarat, and in Oriental Institute accession records after it was donated to the Oriental Institute with the collection of one Yajneshvar Shastri sometime between 1893 and 1900. These colophons attest to a period of four centuries during which copies of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* were produced, predominantly in the city of Patan. Given the strong association of the text with Jayasiṅgha Siddharāja and the Sahasraliṅga Lake, the geographical pattern is not surprising.

Of the four Institutes holding copies of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, the collection and acquisition processes of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute collection is by far the most fully recorded. Bühler's reports on the manuscript collection efforts of the Bombay Presidency in the years 1871-72 and 1872-73 provide the first acknowledgements of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* by a European Indologist. Bühler purchased one manuscript of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* during each of these tours. In his report of 1872-73, he described his newest acquisition of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* as a 'complete' version of the 'fragment' he had purchased the previous year. In fact, it is now apparent that Bühler had purchased copies of two differing versions of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*. In fact, the first manuscript he acquired contained the eighteen-*sarga* version of the text, while the second contained the twenty-seven *adhyāya* version.[7] In his reports on the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, Bühler determined it to be a 'late fabrication;' yet this assessment does not appear to have stifled his interest in collecting more copies of the text. In 1872 Bühler published a catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in private collections of Gujarat, which was expressly intended as an aid in the government efforts to purchase the manuscripts listed. In this catalogue, he lists two manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* held by private collectors. One manuscript of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* was held by Nilkanth Ranchoda in Ahmedabad, and one manuscript entitled '*Sarasvatī Māhātmya*' dated to *Saṁvat* 1522 or 23 and held in the collection of Yajneshvar Shastri of Surat.[8] The latter manuscript most likely moved into the collection of the Oriental Institute in Baroda with Yajneshvar Shastri's donation of his entire collection sometime between 1893 and 1900.[9]

Bühler also collected a third manuscript of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* during his final tour of Gujarat before his departure from India in 1881. Unfortunately, his final efforts in Gujarat are recorded in the annual report by his colleague F. Kielhorn, who provides only sparse information about Bühler's collection efforts in Gujarat. It may be the case that Bühler purchased this third manuscript from the collection of Nilkanth

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[7] Gough, Archibald Edward, ed., *Papers Relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India*, (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Governemnt Printing, 1878), 82-84, 86, 100-105.

[8] Bühler, G., *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts Contained in the Private Libraries of Gujarat, Kathiavad, Kachchh, Sindh, and Khandes, Fascicle II: Poetry*, (Bombay: Indu Prakasa Press, 1872), 34, 54.

[9] Dutt, Newton Mohan, *Baroda and its Libraries* (Baroda: Central Library, 1928), 20.

Ranchoda mentioned in his 1872 catalogue, but this is difficult to establish based on the physical evidence of the manuscripts and the sketchy nature of the reports on Bühler's final tour.[10] After Bühler's 1881 tour, two additional manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* were acquired by the Bhandarkar Institute. One manuscript was included in a donation of the collection from the Vishrama Pathashala before 1881. The final manuscript is listed in the Bhandarkar's accession records as an acquisition of 1881-82, though there is no mention of this manuscript in any records of the Bombay presidency. The exact date and location of donation is not noted in Bhandarkar's reports.

1882 represents a year of transition for government collection efforts, as administration efforts in Bombay shifted from the hands of Bühler and Kielhorn to Bhandarkar and Peterson. Bhandarkar's first report on the collection effort covers only the year 1883-84, and does not include an exhaustive list of manuscripts collected. It is thus unclear whether the 1881-82 manuscript at the Bhandarkar Institute is a remnant of Bühler's efforts in Gujarat or a new acquisition under Bhandarkar and Peterson. Regarding the collection of manuscripts of Purāṇas and Māhātmyas, however, Bhandarkar makes this telling statement:

> In this class there are manuscripts.......which were not purchased on their own account but were included in the large lots containing copies of valuable works which because they contained such *Māhātmyas* etc. (*sic*), were paid at a much lower rate; so that even if these had been rejected the valuable manuscripts would at a higher rate have cost as much as the whole lots.[11]

Illustrated in Bhandarkar's comments is a shifting focus among the government manuscript collectors. Bhandarkar's collection efforts are more focused on manuscripts of great 'value.' The inherent value judgments involved in his collecting lead to the neglect and exclusion of 'minor' regional Purāṇas, with the result that no manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* would be added to the Bhandarkar collection after Bühler's departure from the collection project. This is indicative of a trend in manuscript collection that would continue into the twentieth century. From Bühler's earlier, detailed reports, however, we learn that the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* was of interest to government collection efforts during the earliest years of the search project, and that all of the manuscripts purchased by Bühler were found within the colonial region of North Bombay, or present day Gujarat.

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[10] Kielhorn, K., *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency During the Year 1880-81* (Bombay : Government Central Book Depot, 1881).

[11] Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna Gopal, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency During the Year 1883-84* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1887), 46.

Unfortunately, few archives of Western India are as carefully documented as the Bhandarkar Institute. In the case of the Oriental Institute in Vadodara, the details of manuscript collection are far less clear. The Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda established both the Central Library of Baroda and a system of district libraries throughout the principality in 1893. As an aspect of this library endeavor, he initiated an assertive campaign of manuscript collection, principally from Gujarat, through the solicitation of donations from private individuals and *mandirs*. He also charged a *paṇḍita* by the name of R. Anant Krishna with the task of purchasing manuscripts for the Central Library collection, which resulted in a seven year tour of Gujarat which acquired 10,000 new manuscripts. By 1927, the Sanskrit manuscript collection at Baroda's Central Library had grown to such an extent that the Maharaja established an independent Oriental Institute, charged with the maintenance and publication of Baroda's Sanskrit manuscripts.[12] The accession records of the Oriental Institute contain no information regarding the dates or sources from which any of its five manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* were collected, suggesting that all five manuscripts were acquired before the Oriental Institute was established as a repository independent from the Central Library of Baroda in 1927. Taking into account the early donation history of the Central Library and Bühler's catalogue of private collections in Gujarat, it appears that at least one *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* manuscript, no. 4984, was acquired shortly after 1893 with the donation of Yajneshvara Shastri's collection, and therefore was collected from within Gujarat. Given the low accession numbers assigned to the other four *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* manuscripts at the Oriental Institute, it is probable that these manuscripts were acquired during the early years of government sponsored manuscript collection within Gujarat, between 1893 and 1900. The Maharaja Sayajirao had a particular interest in collecting literary and cultural material from Gujarat, so it is likely that all of these manuscripts were collected within Gujarat, and perhaps from within the princely state of Baroda. As was the case with the Bhandarkar Institute, government sponsorship for manuscript collection and interest in regional texts such as the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* appears to have peaked in the earliest years of the Oriental Institute.

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[12] *Thirtyninth Session of the All India Oriental Conference Souvenir* (Vadodara : Oriental Institute, 1998), 20-22; Dutt 1928, 20-21, 27.

The manuscripts held at both the L. D. and B. J. Institutes of Indology in Ahmedabad represent the most modern trends in manuscript preservation. The manuscript held at the L. D. Institute was obtained with the private collection of Punya Vijaya Maharaja. K. B. Dave lists this manuscript and its owner in his monograph, which was published in 1940, while S. K. Dave relates that this particular manuscript had been donated to the L.D. Institute of Indology by 1968, defining the window of time during which the manuscript left private hands.[13] The manuscript is thus a twentieth-century, post independence acquisition from a private collection in Ahmedabad. The origins of the Bombay City Press printed edition of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* held at the L. D. Institute are unknown. The L. D. Institute's holding is, however, the only extant copy, reflecting the singularly unique efforts of the L. D. Institute, among western Indian archives, in preserving early printed Sanskrit books. The manuscript and modern transcript held at the B. J. Institute of Indology are, similarly, post independence acquisitions from a private collection. Both texts at the B. J. Institute were donated by S. K. Dave, who published an English language article on the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* in 1968, and whose father wrote a Gujarati language monograph on it in 1940. Dave, a native of Ahmedabad, made his donation in 1989. These most recently donated manuscripts speak to the fate of lesser known texts in Gujarat and India as a whole. Diminished government funding for manuscript collection and waning interest in unpublished, regional texts such as the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* place the burden of locating and preserving such manuscripts on whatever few private collectors might remain in Gujarat.

What little can be gleaned from the prearchival movements of the manuscripts of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* revolves around two seminal moments in the life of a manuscript: the moment at which it was first written or copied, and the moment at which it was acquired for archival preservation. Colophon documentation of the moment of copying for manuscript 4984 of the Oriental Institute in Vadodara places the latest possible date for the composition of the eighteen-*sarga* version of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* at 1466 A.D. The text's historical narrative of the reign of Jayasiṅgha Siddharāja places the earliest possible composition of this version in the second or third quarter of the twelfth century. The chronological range for the composition of at least one version of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* thus falls between the mid-twelfth century and the early fifteenth century. While the reign of Siddharāja is only the earliest possible date of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'s composition (with the latest possible date being the mid-fifteenth century), Gujarati historians favour this as the actual date of composition. The Solaṅkī kings, especially Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, were enthusiastic patrons of literary production. Their most famous patron, of course, was the famed Hemacandra, but there were certainly other court poets. Gujarati scholars hold that the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* was composed by the court poet Keśava under the patronage of Siddharāja.[14]

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[13] Dave, K. B. 1940, 12; Dave, S. K. 1968, 70 ftnt. 1.

Further, this evidence of the movement of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* manuscripts provides geographical information. If the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* is a text that defines a regional identity for Gujarat through narratives of mythic geography, then the physical lives of its manuscripts mirror this design. The few manuscripts that relate their location of inscription place the manuscript within the region of Gujarat, and specifically in the city of Patan. Records of manuscript collection indicate that as of the nineteenth century, the physical dispersal of the text was confined to Gujarati speaking regions. These facts indicate a text that was not only written about Gujarat, but for Gujarat.

Finally, the late chronology of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* in Gujarat can also be inferred from the lives of these manuscripts. Colophons and records of government collection efforts illustrate that the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* was of at least some interest to scribes, private collectors, and government archiving efforts in Gujarat from the late eighteenth century through the late nineteenth century. This history of copying and preservation does not necessarily indicate that the content of the text was commonly known in literary or performative traditions of Gujarat or that religious or literary practices related to the text were preserved along with its manuscripts. It does, however, demonstrate that the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* was known and viewed as authoritative by at least some patrons, scribes, and collectors through the end of the nineteenth century. A living tradition of commissioning, copying, and collecting manuscripts of the text suggests that the cultural concept of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* remained more or less vibrant throughout this period. The fact that the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* is virtually unknown in Gujarat, greater India, and Indological circles today is, at least in part, a product of the twentieth-century, though a preview of this trend is seen in Bhandarkar's writing on the collection of 'minor' Purāṇas and Māhātmyas. This, of course, begs the question of changing religious and literary culture in twentieth-century Gujarat.

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[14] Parikha, R. K. and Shastri, H. G. *Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sāṃskṛtika Itihāsa*, Volume 4, *Solaṅki kāla* (Gujarati) (Ahmedabad : Śeṭha Bhoḷābhāī Jeśiṅgabhāī Adhyayana, 1976), 540-542.

Ultimately, a study of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* manuscripts is most valuable in that it clearly frames seminal questions to be asked of the text itself. The clearly defined geographical boundaries in both the textual narrative and the physical dispersal of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* raise issues ranging from language choice to regional self-conception. Why is the medieval *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* composed in Sanskrit, even as the traditions of Gujarati literature are fully evolving and similar regional Purāṇas throughout India are being composed in the vernacular? Why is geography, and specifically mythic geography, so seminal in the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'s construction of a regional religious and cultural identity? And, as the manuscripts themselves provide two markedly different versions of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'s theological narrative, why is there such fluidity of the narrative tradition entailed in a single, narrowly defined text? Is such fluidity of narrative indicative of the competing roles of sacred geography and mythic history in defining regional identity? While the geographical, chronological, and cultural realities of the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* are, to some extent, conveyed by the lives of physical manuscripts, it is only from the narrative of the text itself that these broader religious and literary questions will be answered.

Summary of Extant *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* Manuscripts

I. Manuscript Holdings

Accession Number	Title in Mss.	Version of Text	Collection Region
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune :			
no. 29 1871-1872	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	Gujarat
no. 8 1872-1873	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	27 *Adhyāyas*	Gujarat
no. 231 1880-1881	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	incomplete	Gujarat
no. 124 1881-1882	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	Gujarat
no. 429 Vishrama Collection	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	unknown
Oriental Institute, Vadodara :			
no. 3720	'*Sarasvatī Mahātmya*'	27 *Adhyāyas*	Gujarat
no. 3721	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Adhyāyas*	Gujarat
no. 4984	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	Gujarat
no. 5288	'*Sarasvatī Mahā Purāṇa*'	Incomplete	Gujarat
no. 9182	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	22 *Sargas*	Gujarat
B.J. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad :			
no. 6891/16400	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	Gujarat
L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad:			
no. *Purāṇa* 38e/280	'*Sarasvatī Purāṇa*'	18 *Sargas*	Gujarat
Printed Edition, Bombay City Press :			
'*Sarasvatī Mahātmya*'	27 *Adhyāyas*	*Saṁvat* 1946/1888A.D.	

II. Colophon Evidence :

Manuscript	Date of writing	Location of writing
Oriental Institute 4984	1522/23 *Saṁvat*; 1466 A.D.	
LD Institute Purāṇa 38e/280	1831 *Saṁvat*; 1774 A.D.	Patan, Gujarat
BJ Institute 6891/16400	1905 *Saṁvat*; 1848 A.D.	Patan, Gujarat
BORI 8 1872-73	1928 *Saṁvat*; 1871 A.D.	
Oriental Institute 3720	1937 *Saṁvat*; 1880 A.D.	Patan, Gujarat
Oriental Institute 3721	1940 *Saṁvat*; 1883 A.D.	Patan, Gujarat

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ENVIRONMENTAL INSIGHTS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE[†]

Sweta Prajapati*
Pragnesh Shah**

Introduction

The worldwide scientists are after the search of solutions related to the biggest problem that world is facing today and it is Global warming. Temperature of earth surface is increasing, enough polar ice and ice burgs in the oceans are melting in large amounts, the surface water's temperature of the oceans is also increasing. All these factors have affected our weather cycles, irregular monsoon causing flooding, drought and an increase in damaging storms. Many coastal areas would experience flooding, erosion, a loss of wetlands and an entry of sea water into fresh water areas. High sea levels will submerge some coastal cities, small island nations and other inhabited regions. When we study the reasons for all these threats to the existence of human life on the earth, it points out the human behaviour and life style which is based on the belief that "NATURE is to enjoy". The ancient Vedantic concepts and life style fixed in the name of *dharma* are a part of the grand reconciliation between science and religion. We find these concepts embodied in the extensive literature starting with the four Vedas and their subsequent elaborations in the Upaniṣads. Today, when we look at the issues related to global warming, we feel that science and religion seem to be saying the same thing.

This paper is divided in four parts. Part one deals with Introduction, part two deals with ancient teaching, part three discusses the views related to environment by classical thinkers and part four deals with the modern problems and probable solutions

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with indentification of future reasearch areas related to environment and existence of human being.

Insights of Vedic Thinkers

Our Indian civilisation is one of the oldest civilisations in the world and considered as old as human. From the very inception of Indian civilisation human life has always remained related to *pañcatattvas*- earth, water, ether, air and fire. These *pañcatattvas* are later on personified as God and to take care of each of them, they are made part of human life from pre-natal to death and everyday life. Considering their importance and necessity in human life, each of these *tattvas* are established as part of religious rituals. During the origin and development of civilisation, to show the path to live the life, laws were developed in the name of religion and myth, i.e. *ṚTA*. To make these laws a part of the life of common man, they are taught to the people in their language in simple words and in the name of God. In our literature, which is made of part of our religion, we are taught to make use of these entire natural phenomenon by keeping in mind the catchphrase " do not exploit these phenomenon but use them squashy i.e. *prakṛtị kā śoṣaṇa nahi dohana*."

Man and nature relationship forms the main corpus in discussing environmental awareness. We find that ancient people belonging to various cultures were showing much concern to the environment, in which they breathe in. Sanskrit literature contains the insights and concern of the Vedic seers and classical poets like Kālidāsa who consider water, air etc. as the limbs of the Lord Śiva. The poets of both Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature have spoken about the well-being of the nature in our Indian ritualistic tradition.

We also find that trees, water, earth etc. are worshipped under the pretexts of religious activities but in fact they are the product of environmental concern. The concept of *Ṛta* in the Vedas, which can be interpreted as a scientific concept of natural law or as a moral one, was the reflection of the primitive thought of man in regard to the intimate interrelation between man and nature.

The study of environment as science is very recent. It differs from age to age, since it is absolutely dependent upon the condition prevalent at that particular time. To be totally candid and faithful to the present problem concerning environment, it could be said without any gainsaying that the present concept and problems of environment and measures to protect it are totally different from the olden times. Hence, it will not be proper to expect everything of environmental science that is current today from previous generation. As far as awareness is concerned it did exist in ancient India.

We come across number of references of utility and preservation of water in the Vedic literature. Tanks, water-places and trees were the abodes of gods. Water or a tank was conceived even as the semen of Prajāpati, which was the product of the fiery desire; as it fell to the ground, it was spread by the element of wind and the area on which it got stored became a tank.[1] In Vedic texts water is considered as a powerful curing substance, great healer and remedy. One of the most important qualities of water of being a pacifier of a mentally disturb person is found in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.*[2] *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (25.7), *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (5.6.2.) and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also confirm the same. In *Atharvaveda* the awareness regarding the medicinal utility of water reaches its climax. Water therapy constitutes one of the major therapies even today. All these references prove that Vedic people did have awareness regarding the medicinal aspect of water. As a result naturally they also had some primitive but significant devices to protect water as a natural resource. For them water is God and they tried their best to preserve water by various devices. Personification of natural phenomenon gradually paved the way for creating myths. The human existence itself depends upon the regular and rhythmic processes in nature. In course of time the extension of this natural law was considered to be the moral law- *ṚTA,* just as a failure of natural law will bring about anarchy in nature and make the existence of all beings impossible, so a violation of the moral law –*ṚTA* will cause to social anarchy and threaten the existence of human beings. Both the natural law and moral law are then considered to be the dual manifestations of the same eternal law, the God.

Ayurvedic text like *Suśruta Saṁhitā* speaks about the medicinal value of some plants. The *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra* (IV. 7.20-23) gives instruction for avoiding certain trees near the house in the specific directions and justifies its stand. The Purāṇas also give instruction in this respect. The *Matsya-purāṇa* states the names of trees to be planted near the house, a banyan tree should be on the eastern side, the Udumbara tree on the southern side, the Pippala tree on the western side and the Plakṣa on the northern side.

भवनस्य वटः पूर्वे दिग्भागे सर्वकामिकः ।
उदुम्बरस्तथा याम्ये वारुण्यां पिप्पलः शुभः ।। (*Matsya-purāṇa, 254.20)*

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[1] *tad vā idam prajāpate retaḥ siktam adhāvat, tat saro abhavat. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* III. 33

[2] *āpo upasṛjati āpo vā aśāntasya śamayitrikāstasmād āpa upsṛjati śāntyai* , 3.1.6.

The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* points out that a house should never be near a banyan tree, for then there is a danger to the house from thieves. This is obvious because the robbers or thieves can very easily conceal themselves in the dense leaves of the Banyan tree. However, this tree is welcome in the towns, because by its very sight, it gives merit and auspiciousness. By saying that the tree is *darśanāt puṇyadaḥ,* a mythical element is added only to stress the utility of the tree, since it gives shelter to many and under its shade, even a weekly *bazara* could be held, as it is the case in many Indian villages, even in modern times. The introduction of greenery in town plans or setting the town near places of natural beauty leads to a heightening of pleasurable experiences and enriches the quality of life for the citizens. The need to do this was well recognized in *Devīpurāṇa.*

> आदौ वृक्षाणि विन्यस्य पश्चात् गेहानि विन्यसेत् ।
> अन्यथा यदि कुर्यात् तु तद् ग्रामं नैव शोभनम् ।।

'The position of the trees to be planted in the town should first be fixed and the house sites should be laid out thereafter. If this is not done, the town will not be pleasant.'

Śukranīti says: 'the site for the capital city should be in the midst of an area abounding in trees and animals and birds of various kinds; in a fertile area where grass and wood can be easily obtained, at a place from where the ocean can be easily reached by a boat, and not very far from a mountain but on even and pleasant grounds.'

> नानावृक्षलताकीर्णे पशुपक्षिगणावृते ।
> सबहूदकधान्ये च तृणकाष्ठसुखे सदा ।। (४.१३)
> आसिन्धुनौगमाकूले नातिदूरमहीधरे ।
> सुरम्यसमभूदेशे राजधानी प्रकल्प्यते ।। (४.१४)

The *Śukranīti* also advocates planting of different kinds of trees within the town and in the countryside and gives a long list of trees suitable for plantation within the town area. The '*Śilparatna* ' recognises the purifying effect of the sun rays and advises that while selecting the site for a town, sites having a mountain on the eastern side should be avoided as that will prevent the rays of the early rising Sun from entering the town. It also says that roads should be aligned straight because the tree passage or the rays of the sun, moon and the breezes through the streets have a cleansing effect. This kind of description shows the author's environmental insights for healthy human life.

In *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also we find many references to water management, conservation of forests, protection of animals and plants. In *Pañca-tantra* and *Hitopadeśa* environmental awareness is created through moral stories.

The water is a result of oblation offered to Agni. It grows crops parched by drought . Ancient farmers are advised to change the crops in their fields to maintain the fertility of the land. *Jaivika-khetī*, an organic farming of olden days with the help of cow dung and cow urine is promoted nowadays to prevent the soil erosion, to maintain the fertility of land and to obtain good crops for healthy human life.

Insights of Classical Thinkers

Classical poets provide a vast literature having descriptions of nature in all its aspects. The attitude towards nature reflected in it generally shows the intimate interrelation between human beings and the natural phenomena. This may inspire the men and women of modern age to protect the environment.

The very first invocatory verse of *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* speaks of Kālidāsa's awareness of environment when he describes eight limbs of Lord Śiva, they are *pañcatattvas*- earth, air, ether, fire , water and Sun, Moon and *hotā*- the performer of the sacrifice. Kālidāsa is far aware of the necessity of water. He makes Raghu to produce water in the deserts.

मरुपृष्ठान्युदम्भांसि नाव्याः सुप्रतरा नदीः ।
विपिनानि प्रकाशानि शक्तिमत्त्वाच्चकार सः ।।(*Raghuvaṁśa*, 4.31)

Moreover, Raghu himself makes inquiries to Kautsa after the availability of water in the hermitage of sages.

निर्वर्त्यते यैर्नियमाभिषेको येभ्यो निवापाञ्जलयः पितृणाम् ।
तान्युच्छषष्ठाङ्कितसैकतानि शिवानि वस्तीर्थजलानि कच्चित् ।।(*Raghuvaṁśa*, 5.8)

The *Raghuvaṁśa* describes that in the kingdom of Dilīpa, the lakes are full of fragrant flowers.

सरसीष्वरविन्दानां वीचिविक्षोभशीतलम् ।
आमोदमुपजिघ्रन्तौ स्वनिःश्वासानुकारिणम् ।। (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1.43)

Again Vasiṣṭha's meditation is compared to the deep tranquil lake with fishes asleep in it.

इति विज्ञापितो राज्ञा ध्यानस्तिमितलोचनः ।
क्षणमात्रमृषिस्तस्थौ सुप्तमीन इव ह्रदः ।। (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 1.73)

Pearl-like dew-drops on red leaves also remind the smile of Raghu reflected on his red lower lip(5.70). Kālidāsa mentions how full-blossomed *lodhra* tree reminds one of the lion, seated on the cow.

स पाटलायां गवि तस्थिवांसं धनुर्धरः केसरिणं ददर्श ।
अधित्यकायामिव धातुमय्यां लोध्रद्रुमं सानुमतः प्रफुल्लम् ।। (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 2.29)

Pregnant Sudakṣiṇā looks like Śamī tree which contains fire latent in it (3.9). The *sāla* tree expresses Dilīpa's height (1.13). The *Aṅkola* trees, when over-pressed by Raghu's elephants show Kamboja's submission to Raghu (4.69). It is a long list of trees that Kālidāsa gives to describe humanity in its varied aspects.

Kālidāsa is a master craftsman in depicting nature. He has displayed in implicit the knowledge about various aspects of ecology. In all his dramas, most of the scenes have their settings amidst nature. Kālidāsa's ecological awareness seems evident when he describes hermitages as natural habitats and he analyses interactions between plants, animals and other non-living factors of environment as parts of integrated eco systems. Kālidāsa has successfully established a strong link between plants and animals, thus contributing significantly to plant ecology. The intimate relationship between man and animal as discovered by Kālidāsa only goes to reveal his insights for the environment.

In *Mālatīmādhava*, Bhavabhūti depicts the terrible aspect of the nature with a master hand. Contrary to it, in *Uttararāmacarita* he describes *Daṇḍaka* forest with equally mild effect. Moreover Vāsantī, a sylvan deity is described to have established friendship with Sītā and she brings up the elephant and the deer as her own son. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa we can see that he is equally efficient in depicting the sober as well as awful aspects of nature.

In *Anyoktis* also we find number of references to trees and water etc.

दशकूपसमा वापी दशवापीसमो ह्रदः।
दशह्रदसमः पुत्रो दशपुत्रसमो द्रुमः ।।

It is well known that there are many types of water- reservoirs with varied dimensions. The *Kūpa* is well; the *Vāpī* is a pond or a tank; the *Hrada* is a lake. A lake is bigger than a pond which is bigger than a well. The poet tells us that in their usefulness also the proportion among them is 1 to 10. But when he compares the benefit accrued on constructing a lake with that of having a son, of course a dutiful and righteous one, he decided the same proportion as 10 to 1. That is, one son is equal to ten lakes, and then when he takes into consideration the benefit derived from planting or sowing a seed and growing it into a tree and compares it with giving birth to a son and bringing him up as a man, he concludes that one tree is equal to ten sons. There is a possibility of a son going wayward and harming himself and the society around, whereas there is no such possibility in the case of a tree.

Mention of the use of juices of leaves and seeds of certain trees as face-pack to heighten women beauty and Ayurvedic usages also speak of relation of nature with human being. In making the use of leaves or bark of various trees as writing material, ample care was taken that the entire tree is not vanished, which has become nowadays an alarm for the paper-making industries. The destructive forces of nature have been designated as *utpātas* and classified into three categories : *divya, antarikṣiya* and *bhauma*. In Sanskrit literature these facts are shrouded in fog of mystery and mythology.

Present Scenario

Max Müller in his well known lecture series, '*India : what can it teach us*' asserts– " If I were to took over the whole world and find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow – in some parts a paradise in earth- I should point to India."[3]

What is the state of present India? Can it be comparable to paradise or to any other prosperous region? What is the purity of its air, water and vegetation? Even the sin-destroying river Ganga has become polluted. The thick forests are vanishing. Tall trees have given place to short shrubs. The air and water polluted to saturation. Everything has become perverted. Scientists all over the world are making predictions about the ill effects of Global warming and connecting some of the events that have taken place in the past few decades as an alarm of global warming and other environmental issues. Global communities are taking the threat to existence seriously and researchers, academicians, scientists of social sciences as well as pure science are after the solution of the problem. The solution of all these problems is possible by creating awareness among the people.

Communication is the main tool for creating awareness and Accounting is the language with the basic function to communicate the information related to financial performance in term of cost and benefit and with the development of human life, business world and complexities, various branches of accounting have also developed gradually.

The solution to any problem starts with creating awareness about the problem and possible solutions. To create awareness and make people thinking sincerely on any issue, addition of Socio-economic factors to threats/problems helps a lot. Hence, with the increase in environmental problems and threats to human beings, with intention to awake and make people aware about the threats, a new branch of accounting in the name of Environmental Accounting has developed. The financial information reported by the environmental accounting is useful in internal as well as external decision making. United States Environment Protection Agency (US EPA) states that Environmental Management Accounting can generate information about how to make use of resources with environment-related impacts. Objectives of Environmental Management Accounting are to produce information related to environment in general and specifically:

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[3] Deshpande, R.S. Babasaheb '*India as seen and known by Foreigners*', Swadhyay Mandal, Killa- Pardi, 1950, p.1.

1. To identify the processes and operations damaging environment.
2. To examine current controls and suggest improvements in controls to stop damages to environment.

Such information helps in preparing environment policies, policies to make effective and optimum use of natural resources, staff training to preserve environment and stop misuse of resources or use of resources as per requirement in the safest way.

Conclusion

If ancient India could surpass paradise, the present India drowns itself to become worse than hell. How this situation can be prevented ? The answer is obvious, to safeguard the human existence, awareness about the environmental issues and fast action in this direction shall be initiated by making drastic change in life style and people's thinking towards the natural resources. For it measures should be taken with help of concerned views which our ancient thinkers, scientists of social science as well as pure science and environmental management accounting policy makers hold.

Thus the whole world requires to accept the life style which is in line with long existence of human life by way of preserving the environment in general and natural resources in particular. Acceptance of pure vegetarian food, establishing importance of natural resources by minimal consumption and in return putting efforts towards enrichment of these resources will definitely contribute in preservation of environment. Hence we also recommend in this regard that the religious and spiritual leaders should take lead to spread the message for healthy environmental friendly life as suggested by ancient seers. Still scientists, researchers and even a common man needs to put efforts towards the identification of areas related to improving the environmental condition.

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आचार्य विद्यानन्द विशेषांक

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वर्ष : ७५, अङ्क : ५, मई २००९

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वर्ष : ७५, अङ्क : ८, अगस्त २००९

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OBITUARY

MUNIŚRĪ JAMBUVIJAYJI MAHARAJ

The cruel fate intervened in his life and consequently he left for his heavenly abode. He died in a road accident while he was on his way, on foot, towards Jaiselmer via Badmer after spending his *Cāturmāsa* at Nakoda Parshvanath Tirth, on 12th November, 2009.

He was accompanied by his disciples (7 monks and 10 nuns). Some of them were walking ahead of him while some were walking behind him. *Muniśrī* Jambuvijayaji, 87 years old, was walking on foot with his young disciple *Muni* Namaskar Vijayji who was first in the line whereas 3rd in the line was *Muni* Dharamghosh Vijayji and *Muni* Hemvant Vijayji was 4th in the line. Suddenly a car, INNOVA, having four passengers, hit all these four monks so badly at 7:15 in the morning, resulting instant death of *Muniśrī* Jambuvijayji and *Muni* Namaskar Vijayji on the spot.

This most saddest news has created a vacuum in the Indological academic field of the world and all the concerned scholars are shocked since many of them have been in contact with him for solving their academic and textual problems. Some of the Japanese scholars who were still working with him were also very sad.

Muniśrī Jambuvijayji prepared, edited, and translated many of the Jain Agamic Canonical texts with commentary for the last 50 years which were published by Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, Mumbai and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. He inherited this tradition from the renowned Jain *Muni* Punyavijayaji with whom he had spent many years. He had an invaluable collection of rare manuscripts which he wanted to edit, translate and eventually publish. We hope that his able disciples, viz. *Muni* Pundrik Ratan Vijay and *Sādhvī* Jinendra Prabhaji, will be able to take up the works which *Muniśrī* Jambuvijayji envisaged in his life.

He was a scholar of all the philosophical and spiritual systems of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. He worked on the treatise on *Dvādaśāranayacakra* for 30 years and got the same published with an appendix containing restoration of the text of Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇa Samuccaya.* It has a foreword by Prof. Frauwallner (Erich), a well-known scholar of Indian and Buddhist Philosophy from Austria. This work earned him fame from all over the world. He knew Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and English. He also had working knowledge of other Indian and European languages.

Muniśrī Jambuvijayji prepared the entire *Hemacandrācārya Gyāna Bhandāra* in the catalogue form which was published by Shardaben Chimanbhai Education Research Centre, Ahmedabad. He also digitized the entire Jaiselmer Bhandar of manuscripts which contains the rare collection of Jain, Buddhist and Hindu philosophical texts. He edited catalogue of Jaiselmer Bhandar which was published by Motilal Banarsidass. The stalwarts of Jain Philosophy and literature namely : Late Pandit Bechardas Doshi, Late Pandit Shri Amrutlal Bhojak, Late Pandit Shri Dalsukh Malvania, Pandit Rupendra Pagariya, Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. Vasudevsharan Agarwal and many more were in close contact with *Muniśrī* to solve their textual and philosophical problems.

Apart from his academic and philosphical achievements, he was a great spiritual devotee. Once he said that he was doing the entire academic work because of his duty for the Jain community, entrusted to him by God. His Body, Mind and Soul were devoted to God only.

Recently, he critically edited *Yogasūtras* of Hemacandrācārya in 3 volumes and also Diṅnāga's *Nyāyapraveśikā Śāstra* which were released on 17th October, 2009 in the temple of Nakoda Parshvanath Tirth. He lived the true life of a Jain ascetic which is rare these days. He devoted his entire life to editing manuscripts and meditation. He never hankered after fame and was very simple in his daily routines and habits. He will get a greater spiritual birth hereafter. Truly, he was a great soul.

– N. P. Jain

M.L.B.D.
Delhi

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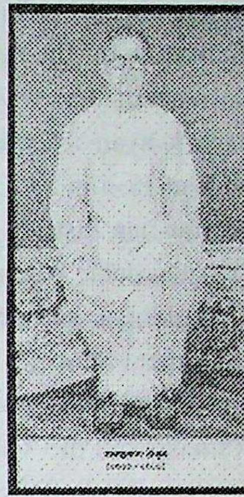


ANANTALAL THAKUR

(10th November, 1916 – 26th November, 2009)

Professor Anantalal Thakur (23 *Kārtika*, 1323 – 9 *Mārgaśīrṣa*, 1417 BS = 10th November, 1916 – 26th November, 2009) was born in a traditional Bengali Brahmin family to Govindachandra and Saudamini in the Unasia-Kotalipara Village, Dist. Faridpur in the eastern part of undivided Bengal. He first got some traditional training from his father but ultimately turned to school education in the Kotalipara Union Institution against objection from the family. This as well as the distance from Calcutta somewhat hampered his education. Thakur had got involved in some freedom movement activities too that came to the notice of police. As a result, after qualifying in the school test for appearing in the Matriculation Examination, he had to leave Kotalipara and to go to his brother-in-law Professor Chintaharan Chakrabarty's house in South Calcutta from where he appeared in and passed the Matriculation Examination with distinction. He passed the B.A. Examination with Honours in Sanskrit from the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1940. The principal of the College at that time was Surendranath Dasgupta. Among Thakur's other teachers were Dr. Dakshinaranjan Bhattacharya, Dineshchandra Bhattacharya, Sachchidananda Bhattacharya, Mm. Kalipada Tarkacharya, Yogendranath Tarka-Vedanta-Sankhyatirtha etc. In the M.A. classes, he specialized in *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. He studied with teachers like Phanibhushan Tarkavagisha, Panchanan Tarkavagisha, Srijiv Nyayatirtha, Dr. Satkari Mukhopadhyay etc. He stood first class in his group in the M.A. examination. For some time, he learnt Tibetan from Vidhushekhar Shastri and then began to research for the Ph.D. degree under Professor B. M. Barua with a scholarship of the University of Calcutta for Indo-Tibetan research. Barua's untimely death cut short this venture but the inspiration received for working on less known Buddhist and Jain Philosophers lasted.

After the sad demise of Professor Barua, Thakur joined the Krishṇanagar Government College as lecturer. While at Calcutta during vacation, he heard from Dr. Sukhlalji Sanghvi that Rahul Sankrityayan had deposited his collection of Buddhist manuscripts from Tibet in the Bihar Research Society at Patna. In order to remain in the vicinity of the manuscripts at Patna, he joined the Prasanna Choudhry College at Katrasgarh and whenever he got an opportunity, he went to Patna to study the Sankrityayan collection. After three years of such work on Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti, he had to join the Barpeta College in Assam and then the Katwa College in the Bardhaman district. After this, he got a lecturerer's post at the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies. Since this gave him the opportunity of working with manuscripts of Buddhism and *Prācīna-Nyāya* that he had longed for, he did not leave Bihar till retirement after this. Henceforward it was a story of edition and publication of texts and commentaries of *Prācīna-Nyāya* and Buddhism that included the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* of Ratnaśrī and the *Vaiśeṣikadarśana* that is the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* with a so far unknown commentary both from the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1957; *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī* (1956, 1975) and *Jñānśrīmitranibandhāvalī* (1959) published by the K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna; *Saugatasūtravyākhyānakārikā* of Kumārilasvāmin (Mithila-Institute, 1964), *Tārkikarakṣā* (Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit College, Darbhanga, 1967) *Nyāyadarśana* of Gautama = *Nyāyasūtras* up to 1.2.20 with the comms. of Vātsyāyana, Udyotakara, Vācaspati and the Tātparyapariśuddhi of Udayana (Mithila Institute, 1967); *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikābhāṣyam* of Vasubandhu (K. P. Jaiswal Research Inst., 1967); *Nyāyabhāṣyavārtikatātparyavivaraṇapañjika* of Bhaṭṭavādīndra (Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit College, 1985), *Tārkikarakṣāsārasaṅgraha* with the commentaries of Cannibhaṭṭa and Rāmeśvara, Asiatic Society), *Śrīkaṇṭhaṭippaṇakam* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1986), Nyāyalaṅkāra of Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya edited jointly-with Late J. S. Jetly (Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1981) and several other texts. The list comprising twenty-five titles, is quite long. The most important achievement was the publication of the complete *Tātparyapariśuddhi* of Udayana in 1996 (ICPR, Delhi). Apart from the books, Thakur has to his credit about-hundred research papers published in India and abroad.

Thakur was the Sectional President (Religion and Philosophy) at the Ujjain Session of the AIOC, 1972 and of the Pali and Buddhism Section at Dharwar in 1976. He also became the President of several Indological Institutes like the Nagarjuna Buddhist Foundation (Gorakhpur), Ritam (Lucknow), Pajnabharati (Patna) and the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. He received various awards like the Wayman-Sharma Award of Distinction, Certificate of Honour from the President of India, *Mahāmahopādhyāya* from the Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha (1996) and others.

Thakur who was very soft spoken and a kind-hearted man, led an extremely simple life. He is survived by his wife and only daughter. While his near ones, students and other acquaintances enjoyed his affection, he was himself loved by everybody who came into contact with him. With his death, it is not that only Indology has lost a towering figure of incessant activity, Thakur's admirers will feel a personal loss.

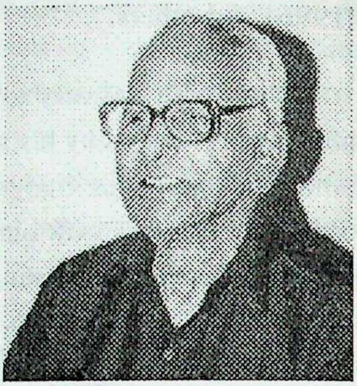
I end this note with a small personal experience with Thakur. I first met him in 1961 at the Srinagar Oriental Conference and had just the impression of a devoted scholar always in the company of persons like Durgamohan Bhattacharya, Chintaharan Chakrabarty, Madhusudan Nyāyācārya etc. but mostly drawn to himself. Later, I heard from students in Bihar that he was a very strict supervisor and examiner of Ph.D. theses. I stayed at his house in Patna in 1973 and never lost touch since then. In course of these years, I had several occasions to seek Thakur's advice on different matters relating to research. What caught my notice is that he never advised rejecting a thesis because it had presented some uncommon views, not acceptable to many or because of poor language. A great admirer of labour and independent thought, the only criterion for the award of the degree that he spoke of, was whether the candidate had worked independently and presented something new. Hardly a strict examiner !

– Dipak Bhattacharya

Santiniketan

VAMAN MAHADEV KULKARNI

(11th November, 1917 – 26th December, 2009)



Professor V. M. Kulkarni was a well-known Scholar, Teacher and Researcher in the field of Sanskrit and Prakrit Studies, especially Poetics, Jainism and Manuscript-studies, besides an administrator and an NCC officer. An *Ajātaśatru* in its true sense, this publicity-shy Professor made an indelible mark as a sound scholar and a seasoned researcher. His solid and outstanding contributions distinguished him from other scholars in the field in ways more than one. Dr. Kulkarni adorned different positions in academic as well as administrative fields in the Maharashtra Education Service. His clarity of thought and expression, coupled with his objective attitude, open mind and soft-spoken nature, endeared himself to one and all who happened to come in his contact. He was my well-wisher and showered his affection on me since we first met in 1973, when he was appointed as the Director of Languages by the Govt. of Maharashtra. From that day till he breathed his last, he always encouraged me in my intellectual pursuits, especially, my adventures in Manuscript-studies and appreciated my efforts and research output. This affectionate and appreciative gesture of his towards me-despite the fact that I had never had any opportunity to be his student or a colleague, prompted me to bring out a felicitation volume, named '*Vāmanavikrama*', in his honour in 2006.

Born in a middle-class orthodox Maharashtrian family on 22nd November, 1917 at Ajra, in Kolhapur District of Maharashtra, he was a very bright student since his school days and always topped the merit-list. His favourite subjects were Sanskrit, English and Mathematics and he made special efforts to develop his linguistic acumen which resulted in his facile pen in Sanskrit, Marathi, English in his later objective and balanced outlook-with no bias or prejudice for any particular view or dogma. His reasoning power and clarity of thought and expression were marvellous.

He joined the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, for his graduation and surprisingly opted for *Ardhamāgadhī*- a totally new subject, at the casual suggestion of his friend.

Inspite of the fact that he had never studied that subject, he stood first in *Ardhamāgadhī* at the Intermediate Arts Examination of the Bombay University and bagged the A. T. Jain Literature Scholarship. Subsequently, he continued with *Ardhamāgadhī* (Prakrit) and again bagged the Gangadas Rangildas Scholarship for standing first at the B. A. Exam. of the University of Bombay, among all the candidates in 1940. The main reason for continuing the study of *Ardhamāgadhī* (AMG) was his Revered Teacher, Prof. Dr. Adinath Neminath Upadhye- a Maharashtrian Jain Scholar and a doyen of Prakrit studies. Availing of the Dakshina Fellowship for two years in the same Rajaram College (1940-1942), he did his first M.A. in AMG in 1942. His love and urge to study Sanskrit at the University level, did not in any way decrease though he mastered Prakrit. His association with the great Sanskrit Scholar, Shri Balacharya Khuperkar Shastri of Kolhapur, encouraged him to do M.A. in Sanskrit and he secured First Class First position in Sanskrit M.A. of the Benaras Hindu University in 1951. Side by side with this, he pursued his Ph.D. at the Bombay University under the able guidance of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Prof. Kashinathshastri V. Abhyankar. He got his Ph.D. Degree in 1952 from the University of Bombay for his pioneering research work on "The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature (as presented in the Sanskrit, Prakrit and *Apabhraṁśa* languages by the *Śvetāmbara* and *Digambara* Poets)."

On getting inducted into the Maharashtra Education Service, he started his teaching career in 1942 by joining the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad and thereafter served in different Govt. Colleges in places like Nagpur, Amaravati, Kolhapur and finally at Bombay, in the famous Elphinstone College. Towards the end of his tenure, the Govt. of Maharashtra appointed him in 1973 as the Director of Languages, till his retirement in 1975. Though burdened with administrative duties, he diligently continued his research activities of publishing research papers and books, along with other curricular and extra curricular activities, as an NCC officer (1948-1960), successfully holding the post of principal of various Govt. Colleges etc.

After retirement from active government service, he whole-heartedly devoted his time and energy to pioneering research work, embracing a variety of subjects and naturally he proved to be the best choice as the Director of the newly-started *Mahāmahopādhyāya*, Dr. P. V. Kane Research Institute at the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society (1976-1981 and 1987-1989). For the intervening three years, he was invited as the Director of the Bhogilal Laherchand Institute of Indology at Patan in North Gujarat (1981-1984).

He had the privilege of getting the following honours : (1) Springer Research Scholarship of the Bombay Uni. for three years. (2) Silver Medal for Research of the Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1983. (3) Prestigious President's Award of Certificate of Honour as Eminent Sanskrit Scholar, 1992. (4) Honorary Fellowship for Life by the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1993. (5) He was awarded the prestigious Acharya Hemachandra Puraskar for the work "Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics" by the B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1998.

This *Puraskāra* is the recognition of his outstanding and distinguished contributions to Jain/Prakrit Studies, though he was not a Jain by birth, nearly ten books of his on Jainism speak highly of his scholarship, developed through the years. Simultaneously with his research in Jain topics, he contributed to other Prakrit studies-especially in Poetics-which was his forte. His scholarly editions of works of Jain and non-Jain authors/scholars are a store-house of his critical acumen, brevity and clarity of thought and of expression, his most objective outlook and deeply penetrating and accurate insight in the subjects and their nuances. The crowning glory of his sound scholarship is the publication of the three volumes (2 to 4) of the critical edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata with the *Abhinavabhāratī-ṭīkā*, which was published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in its world-famous 'Gaekwad's Oriental Series' (GOS).

Despite being required to be hospitalised for more than once, he continued his intellectual activities by guiding other researchers, writing research papers, discussing academic matters and reading some new books on the subjects of his interest. His hospitalisation in last December turned out to be his last stop in his fruitful journey of life and on the morning of the Boxing Day, that is, 26th December, 2009, the Destiny dealt a severe and heavy blow to the world of Indological scholarship, by snatching Dr. Kulkarni away from all of us, rendering grief-stricken and deprived. Thus, came to end-a life of 92 years, one month and four days. The fraternity has received an irrevocable shock which has created a void which can never be filled in. May the almighty give all of us, his relatives, admirers, students etc.-the necessary strength to bear this unavoidable eventuality.

Vadodara

– S. Y. Wakankar

TAPASVI NANDI

(22 -09-1933 – 07-11-2009)

Prof. Dr. Tapasvi Nandi, One of the foremost Indian scholars in the field of Indian Aesthetics, passed away on 7th Nov. 2009. He was actively contributing to the field of Sanskrit learning till the end of his life. Only a couple of days before breathing last, he had completed his Gujarati translation of *Śantiparvan* (of the Crit. Ed. of MBG).

Dr. Tapasvi Nandi was born on 22nd Sept. 1933 at Patan (North Gujarat). His father Shambhuchandra, a police officer by occupation, was a Nagar Gṛhastha and instilled in the son, the cultural values of traditional Sanskrit learning. His *Samaślokī* Gujarati translation of *Meghadūtam* was incorporated by his daughter (Tapasvi's elder sister) Sragdhara who had remained spinster and devoted her life to the cause of Sanskrit and whose college editions of Classical Sanskrit texts were quite well-known in the early latter half of the last century. This family background did influence Prof. Nandi's learning and leanings.

His childhood and school-education was in Patan. Then he came to Ahmedabad and recieved higher education in the well-known Gujarat College. He did B.A. with Sanskrit Major in 1951 and M.A. with Alaṅkāraśāstra in 1953. Among his teachers were such stalwarts as R. B. Athawale, V. M. Kulkarni, Esther Solomon etc. Under the guidance of another such scholar Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh, he got his Ph.D. by working on a serious topic like "The Origin and Development of the Theories of *Rasa* and *Dhvani* in Sanskrit Poetics." He started his teaching career in 1995 by joining the famous H. K. Arts College, Ahmedabad as lecturer. After nine years, he joined the Post-graduate Department of Sanskrit at the School of Languages in Gujarat University, scaled the positions of a Reader, Professor, Head of the Department and formally retired in 1993 after nearly three decades of teaching career in the University. (In between, he also served for two years in 1984-85, on invitation and on lien-as Director of the famous L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad). After retirement also his academic contribution in the form of research, editing, writing, translating etc. had continued till the end of his life.

Dr. Nandi Saheb received a number of honours and appreciations through his career. He secured Smt. Nathiba Gold Medal for highest marks at M.A., Dr. K. M. Naik Gold Medal of Gujarat University for a creditable research career in 1973. Before retirement, he was awarded the Presidential Certificate of Honour for Sanskrit Scholarship in 1990. After retirement, he received *Śastracūḍāmaṇi* (of Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi) in 1994, and U.G.C. Emeritus Fellowship in 1995-97. Finally, Pujya Morari Bapu honoured him with the award of *Vidyāvācaspati* in 2005.

The academic work of Prof. Nandi had multipronged aims. His editins – with text, translation, notes, introductions of the works of Sanskrit Poetics & Dramatics like *Dhvanyālokalocana*, *Abhinavabhāratī* (on *Nāṭyaśāstra* अ. ६), *Nāṭyaśāstra* (अ. १, २, ३, ६) and *Nāṭyaśāstra* (अ. १६, १८, १९), *Kāvyānuśāsana* (with its commentary *Viveka*), *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* etc. kept the students in view; his painstaking critical editions (sometimes with the help of students also) of the *Sāradīpikā* commentary of *Guṇaratnagaṇi* on *Kāvyaprakāśa,* Jinasamudra's commentary on *Raghuvaṁśa*, re-editing of the GOS text of *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vols. 2,3 & 4) in the light of newly found Nepalese Manuscript, are meant for research scholars. For advanced readers and learned connoisseurs, he wrote scholarly treatises like ભારતીય સાહિત્યશાસ્ત્રની વિચારપરંપરાઓ, ભારતીય નાટ્યશાસ્ત્રની વિચાર પરંપરાઓ, અભિધા (three lectures), the voluminous three-part (Thought-currents in Indian Literary Criticism). Finally, he contributed a *Gujarātī* translation of the last *Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Cri. Edn. of BORI, Pune), the *Śāntiparvan*, to Dinkar Joshi's mammoth project of its translation. He still had plans of undertaking projects like Kālidāsa in Sanskrit Literary Criticism, Aestheticians of Gujarat, Students' edition of *Vyaktiviveka* and so on. But almighty had planned differently.

Of course, Nandisaheb had published a hundred odd research articles in reputed journals; he read papers in numerous seminars, presided over many sessions of paper-reading and many sections, attended world Sanskrit Conferences in 1984, 1998 and was its Sectional President in 2002. He had voluntarily shouldered a large part of managemental responsibility of the 1985 - Ahmedabad session of All India Oriental Conference invited by Dr. Esther Solomon. He had also guided some 14 research students for Ph.D. and about 25 for M.Phil.

Yet he never allowed himself to be puffed up by his achievements. Whosoever saw him, always found him the same unassuming person, light, smiling, soft-spoken, welcoming with his friendly and affectionate demeanour, ready to share his academic richness with anyone who so cared to. Even his wife Smt. Harsha, daughter Dr. Chinmayi, Son-in-law Dr. Mayur Rali, grandsons Parth and Meet-all were affected by his contagious smiling personality. It will take a long time for them to overcome the shock and loss of the loving palm of Nandisaheb. Even in Gujarat's scholarly world particularly in the area of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, his Nagar politeness, his sweet personality, his sincere scholarship and his readiness to contribute as long as and as far as possible (and that was not small) – all in one place will be missed for a long time to come.

May Almighty grant peace and *sadgati* to the departed soul and courage to his family members to bear their loss.

Vadodara – R. I. Nanavati

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REVIEWS

Udayasundarīkathā* of *Soḍḍhala, ed. with Introduction and English Translation and annotations by Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma, Ex-principal, M.R. Government College, Fazilka, published by Parimal Publications, Delhi, First edition 2004, pp. XXXIX + 317, Rs. 550.

The *Udayasundarīkathā* is a *Campūkāvya* in Sanskrit, written by Soḍḍhala, a poet of about eleventh century A.D., the son of Sūra, the grandson of Sollapeya and the great-grandson of Candrapati. The poet was honoured at court of Vatsarāja – the Chalukya king of Lāṭa. The *Udayasundarīkathā* is a *Campūkāvya* in eight *Ucchvāsas*, describing the events that led to the marriage of *Udayasundarī*, daughter of Śikhaṇḍatila, king of the Nāgaloka and Malayavāhana, king of Pratiṣṭhāna. The work was edited for the first time by C.D. Dalal and Ember Krishnamacharya in the world famous Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda, No. 11 in 1920. The *Udayasundarīkathā*, edited by Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma is published here in this book with English translation.

The Introduction part of the book having thirty nine pages, contains elucidation of the editor and translator principally on two points, (01) Geographical Data in the *Udayasundarīkathā* and (02) Historical data in the *Udayasundarīkathā*, which is based upon the careful study and compilation from the available material relating to them. This is evident from the exhaustive footnotes, given below each heading.

The main text of the *Udayasundarīkathā* is then presented in different paras and verses translated in English below each of them. The text is in total eight *Ucchvāsas*, covering 313 pages of the book. While translating annotations are also added at several

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places, to explain certain points in the text. At the end, the Index of verses, occurring in the text is presented in the Sanskrit Alphabetical order.

The editor/translator should have mentioned the source of his text in clear terms, since his indebtedness to the G.O.S. edition and/or to any other such edition is quite evident. No mention of the copies of Manuscripts is mentioned, if at all the editor has freshly edited it on the basis of Manuscripts. In the Introduction, the reader/researcher would also expect some details about the author/poet, brief summary of the *Udayasundarīkathā* and its probable sources and innovations, observations on stylistic, grammatical and cultural aspects of the text, edited and translated by him. Why only two aspects of the text are taken note of in the Introduction is also not understood. The text and the introduction are full of glaring mistakes of Sanskrit and English spellings, which should have been avoided by careful proof-reading.

The good aspect of the book is that the reader gets the English translation and the text at one place, very useful to the foreign and Indian students, wishing to study the text through English language. No doubt, for translating the Sanskrit text into English, the accurate knowledge and powerful command over both the languages is required, which are exhibited in the book.

At any rate, the editor/translator deserves our compliments for his so much toil in the advanced age of his life. He is no doubt genuine scholar of Sanskrit, with good command over English. The publisher should also be praised for his commendable efforts in bringing out Indological books of great popular and scholarly interest. The production of the book on the whole is quite good, with simple, but attractive cover-page.

Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

M. L. Wadekar
Offg. Director

सूत्रधारमण्डनभारद्वाजविरचितं वास्तुमण्डनम्-(भाषाटीकासहितम्)अनुवादक- श्रीकृष्ण "जुगनु", प्रकाशक- चौखम्बा सुरभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, प्रथम संस्करण, ई. २००९, मूल्य : ५००/- पृष्ठ ४६ +३७६

The works on *Vāstu* and *Śilpa* are in great demand now a days, since there is ample curiosity among Modern scholars, regarding Indian science of Architecture and schulpture. There are several standard works on these subjects, some important ones among them are *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradāhra, Mayamatam, Mānasāra, Aparājitapṛcchā, Viśvakarmāprakāśa, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam, Kāśyapaśilpam, Nāradaśilpam, Vāsturatnākara, Rājavallabhavāstuśāstra* etc. *Sūtradharamaṇḍana Bhāradvāja*- the author of the present work *Vāstumaṇḍanam* on the *Vāstuśāstra* was a scholar of *Vāstu, Śilpa, Jyotiṣa, Śakuna* and *Tantra*, flourished and was a refugee of the king *Kumbhā* or *Kumbhakarṇa* of Mevad-Rajasthana (1433-1468 A.D.). Maṇḍanasūtradhāra is also author of works *Rūpamaṇḍana, Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam* or *Rūpāvatāra, Prāsādamaṇḍana, Vāstusāramaṇḍana, Bhūpativallabha* or *Rājavallabhavāstuśāstra, Vāstuśāstra, Āyatattva, Jyotiṣamaṇḍana, Śakunamaṇḍana* and *Bandīstotra*. He also began to write *Sārasamuccaya* and *Kalānidhi*, but these were finished later by his son Govinda.

The text *Vāstumaṇḍanam* has four *Adhyāyas-Miśrakalakṣaṇa, Āyādilakṣaṇa, Puradurgayantrajalāśayadilakṣaṇa, Gṛhādiniveśa*. The Sanskrit text of the work *Vāstumaṇḍanam* is presented in the present book with Hindi translation and exhaustive explanatory notes, given under each verse. The Textual matter is compared with other texts and verses are quoted from them also. An Alphabetical Index of the verses of the text should have been given at the end. Moreover, detailed description of the Manuscript or Manuscripts, on which the text is based and principles of the text reconstruction should find place in the Introduction. The text seems to be based upon single Manuscript of the Oriental Institute, Accession number of which is also not mentioned. The text needs to be given more attention from the point of view of editing and grammar at several places.

The translator is famous for his several publications of such important texts with Hindi translations. The matter is also elucidated by the numerous diagrams and pictures given at the end. The thirty-six -page Introduction gives ample information about the Author, his contribution, peculiarities and his patron. The editor/Translator deserves our hearty congratulations for his efforts in bringing out such useful publications with text and translations.

The publisher also deserves hearty congratulations for their sustained efforts in bringing standard editions of Sanskrit book in comparatively low price.

Oriental Institute
M.S. University of Baroda M.L.Wadekar

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Mathematics and Medicine in Sanskrit, Edited by Wujastyk, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2009, pp. i – VIII + 1 - 208, Price Rs. 600=00.

Present Volume is a selection of papers read at a Conference-Panel for Scientific Literature in Sanskrit, a part of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, held at the University of Helsinki, Finland in July 2003. Its contents are divided into two parts :

1. Mathematics and 2. Medicine. The organisation of this special panel highlighted the fact that apart from the various branches of knowledge, Sanskrit has a great variety of Scientific literature. The following is the list of papers and their authors, published in this volume :

1.	Introduction	Dominik Wujastyk
2.	Sanskrit and Science : A New Area of Study	K. V. Sharma
	Part - I, Mathematics	
3.	Solution of Second Degree Indeterminate Equations in Sanskrit Texts	A. K. Bag
4.	Chronological Inferences from a Comparison Between Commentaries of Different *Śulbasūtras*	Jean Michel Delire
5.	Bhāskara - *I's* Geometrical Diagrams in the *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya*	Agathe Keller
	Part - II, Medicine	
6.	Some Neglected Aspects of *Āyurveda* or the illusion of a Consistent Theory	G. Jan Meulenbeld
7.	*Saṃskāras* in Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* : *Garbhādhāna, Ṛtusaṃgamana, Puṃsavana*	Dagmar Benner
8.	Contrasting Examples of *Āyurvedic* Creativity Around 1700	Dominik Wujastyk
9.	Terminology of Spirit Illness : An Empirical Study of a Living Healing Tradition	Antti Pakaslahti
10.	Some Notes on the *Bheḍa(la)saṃhitā*	Tsutomu Yamshita

Seven other scholars participated in the deliberations of this panel, but their papers are not included in the volume. All the scholars presented the fruit of their study and research with great insight and critical acumen. They demonstrate command of skills in Sanskrit philosophy, interpretation of manuscripts, technical terms and diagrams, mathematics, geometry, medical botany, history, religion and inter-culture psychiatry. This new line of sanskrit-science study has a great scope of development that can contribute to a richer view of human history.

The index given at the end of the volume enhances the value of the book.

Vadodara R. T. Vyas

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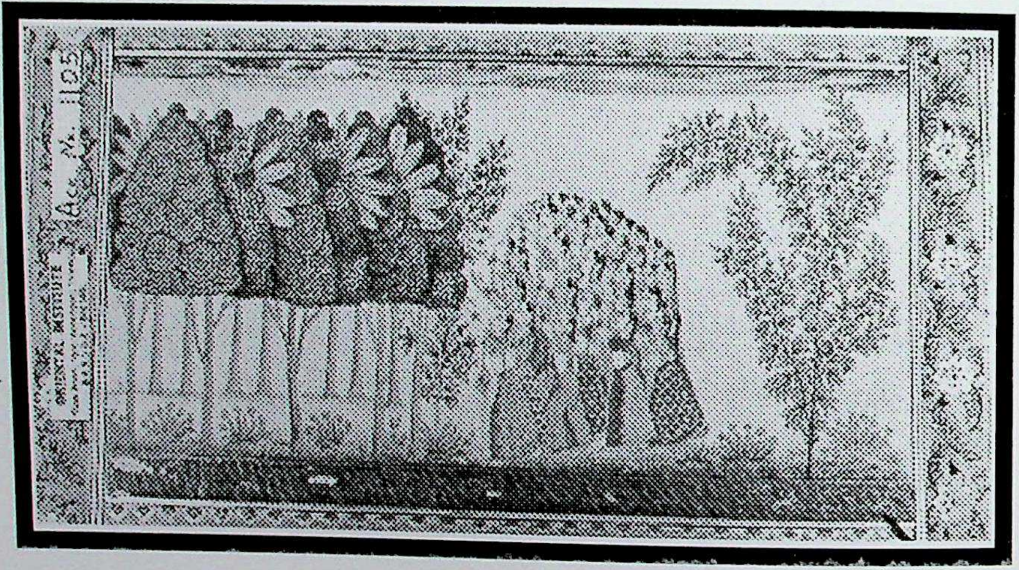

Kātyāyanīvrata

A Scene from Bhāgavatapurāṇa

[Oriental Institute Illustrated MS. No. 1105]

(Please refer to Prof. Wadekar's Article in this Issue)

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